

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 133 415

UD 016 685

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TITLE The Extent and Distribution of Poverty in Mississippi.
INSTITUTION Office of Human Resources and Community Services, Jackson, Miss.
SPONS AGENCY Community Services Administration (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Jun 76
NOTE 335p.
EDRS PRICE MF-\$0.83 HC-\$18.07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Census Figures; Education; Employment; Family Characteristics; Health; Individual Characteristics; Low Income; *Low Income Groups; *Low Income States; Nutrition; Occupations; *Poverty Research; Rural Areas; *Southern States; *Statistical Data
IDENTIFIERS *Mississippi

ABSTRACT

Statistical and descriptive data are used to analyze the location, incidence, characteristics and general dimensions of poverty in Mississippi. The following areas are examined: Mississippi's population structure, the development of public concern with anti-poverty measures and the State's economic structure in terms of its income sources and its labor force. The paper identifies major characteristics and problems of the poor which are apparent from the study of the census data and other available materials. These include family composition, family size, nutrition, health, income, and education. Extensive statistical detail is found in the two appendices. (Author/AM)

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THE EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY
IN MISSISSIPPI

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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FOREWORD

Mississippi is a unique State that combines tradition with increasing progress and a potential for development which is yet to be exploited. In this century, Mississippi has changed from a one-crop economy dominated by cotton to a diversified agricultural, manufacturing, and service economy. However, Mississippi is still a comparatively poor area which has the highest proportion of families with reported incomes below the poverty level of any State in the union.

It is not only in the area of economic and commercial life that Mississippi is changing rapidly. A Southern Rip Van Winkle awakening from a twenty-year slumber could hardly fathom the extensive changes that have taken place in racial norms and mores. Long an exploited and subjugated category, Mississippi's blacks are increasingly assuming more significant roles in the State's economic and political life. Nevertheless, as this report points out, blacks, as a group, are still relatively deprived on many quality of life indicators.

As pointed out in this report,

Persons in poverty fall into many mutually exclusive categories and are victims of a variety of circumstances. Poverty includes persons of all ages, races, and phases of the life cycle. Nevertheless, the frequency of the incidence of poverty is much greater among certain demographic categories. The aged, members of fatherless families, those with low formal education attainment, members of larger families, are categories which demonstrate greater than average incidences of poverty . . . Furthermore, many of the demographic traits associated with poverty tend to appear in clusters, and are mutually reinforcing.

It is necessary that those who plan anti-poverty policies or who direct anti-poverty programs have a clear comprehension of the distribution of the poor and the variables that impinge upon their lives. While statistics, tables, and correlations can only delineate the bare perimeters of poverty, the questions of who, where, in what magnitude, and with what descriptive characteristics, are necessary ones which must be answered if appropriate anti-poverty responses are to be developed.

The Extent and Distribution of Poverty in Mississippi contains a wealth of material which should be useful in informing the public about the poor in Mississippi and the problems they face. Hopefully, it will be useful in stimulating public awareness and discussion of the steps which need to be taken to improve the quality of life for Mississippi's poor. It should provide a valuable working tool for those actively engaged in anti-poverty programs.

Herman D. Wells, Director
Office of Human Resources and
Community Services

PREFACE

One function with which the Human Resources Office is charged is to provide State agencies and officials, CSA grantees, and the general public with information and statistical analysis on the problems and needs of the poor and the programs and efforts needed to overcome poverty in the State. The Extent and Distribution of Poverty in Mississippi is a compilation of statistical data and descriptive and analytic comment on Mississippi's population structure, the development of public concern with anti-poverty measures, the State's economic structure in terms of income sources and labor force and occupational characteristics, and primarily, on the location, incidence, characteristics and general dimensions of poverty in Mississippi.

The overall objective of this study is to provide a written analysis which highlights the characteristics of the poor in Mississippi and which provides some usable insight into the principal problems associated with, and the causes of poverty within this State. Attention is devoted to major identifying characteristics of the poor and the problems of the poor which are apparent from study of census data and other materials available along such dimensions as family composition, family size, nutrition, health, income, and education. More extensive statistical detail is found in the two appendices. Appendix I provides additional information supplemental to that found in the text. Appendix II provides county data specifically addressed to the requirements of the Community Services Administration for the background data necessary in making application for Community Action Programs.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Poverty Measurement

Poverty is not a recent phenomenon. However, recognition of poverty per se as a social problem about which something should be done through collective action is a relatively recent development. The degree to which progress has been made in eliminating poverty largely depends on how poverty is defined and measured. The SSA poverty thresholds, which provide a range of poverty income cut off levels depending on family composition, are widely used as a standardized measure for poverty delineation. By this measure, some 24.3 million Americans were living in poverty in 1974. About 9% of the white population and over 30% of the black population in the United States were poor according to this measure.

Mississippi's Population

In this century Mississippi has changed from a one-crop economy dominated by cotton to a diversified economy. The percentage of urban population is increasing relative to rural population, and the percentage of white population is increasing relative to black. One Mississippian in ten is aged 65 or above. Long an area of extensive out-migration, Mississippi has become a net receiving area for white migrants. The number of males per hundred females is decreasing. Mississippi's population is expected to undergo substantial future growth. All of these changes have fundamental implications for planning to meet the needs of the State's future development.

Poverty and Income in Mississippi

Although per capita income in Mississippi has been increasing both in relative and absolute terms, Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of any State. Mississippi also has the largest frequency of the incidence of family poverty (28.9%) of any State. Although poverty is often thought of as primarily an urban problem, rural Mississippi contains the largest number and proportion of the State's poor. Individually, over one-third of all Mississippi residents in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level.

The frequency of incidence of poverty in Mississippi is more pronounced among persons over than under 65; among persons living alone than among persons residing in families; among black families than white families; among female headed than male headed families; and among rural than urban residents. The severity of poverty as measured by reported family income is greater among the black poor than the white poor and the unrelated poor than among the poor who reside in families.

Employment

Employment is one of the most significant poverty related characteristics. It is one of the first preventatives of and first defenses against poverty. Significant changes are taking place in the State's labor force. Blacks are still proportionately underrepresented in white collar occupations and overrepresented in operatives, labor, and service occupations. The incidence of poverty is greater for blacks than for whites in all occupational categories.

Education

In general, education is positively associated with income. Although the State has made tremendous improvements in the direction of national averages with respect to formal education attained by the population, the State's black population remains among the most severely disadvantaged population groups in the country in terms of level of education attained.

Poverty and Family Size

Unwanted or unplanned births can keep a family from moving out of poverty or they can force a family into poverty. Additional births can result in a vicious circle of chronic poverty and dependency. Whether measured by mean or median family income or by percentage of families with incomes below the poverty level, there is a consistent relationship between poverty and family size. Mississippi data are in alignment with national data regarding poverty and family size. The relationship between family size and poverty is more pronounced among blacks. Reduced birth rates among persons who do not positively wish to bear additional offspring carries direct and indirect social and economic benefits.

Poverty and Fatherless Families

Almost two-thirds of all Mississippians living in female headed families in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Over two-thirds of the employed heads of female black families were poor. Families headed by a female have a much greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families. Of the total poor families in the State, however, only circa one-fourth are female headed.

Poverty and Nutrition

Diet is a significant element in the quality of life available to an individual or to a family. Inadequate nutrition fosters deficiencies which hamper an individual's potential to be or become economically productive. The presence of supposed and highly publicized hunger in the Mississippi Delta was in large measure responsible for the liberalization of the Food Stamp Program. Increased food prices accompanying the current combination of

inflation and recession (the latter not bringing about the logically consequent reduction in prices) is a major imposition in the efforts of working class families to improve or raise their quality of life.

Poverty and Health

Ill health is perhaps the greatest single cause of human suffering. Health care is one of the important ingredients in health levels. Differential living conditions and cultural practices have resulted in higher mortality as well as higher fertility rates among blacks. Mississippi has the seventh highest death rate in the nation, and the highest infant mortality rate, due largely to the high infant mortality rates among non-whites. Participation in medicaid, improved prenatal care, increased proportion of physician attended births, and family planning have helped to bring about some dramatic improvements in Mississippi health level measures.

Poverty and Housing

The costs of building materials, financing, and labor costs have made adequate housing extremely problematic for many Mississippians. Nevertheless, notable improvements have been made in Mississippi housing indicators in terms of owner occupancy, decreased crowdedness, and available conveniences. Plumbing inadequacies, particularly among the poor, remain high in Mississippi in comparison to national averages. Census housing indicators show a particular severity of housing problems among black Mississippians.

Agriculture and Rural Poverty

Prosperous agriculture is not necessarily associated with area decreases in poverty. The Mississippi Delta provides an example of the coterminous existence of agricultural wealth in contrast to widespread and pronounced poverty. Lack of an adequate theoretical and factual base for analyzing rural problems has tended to promote the notion that massive transfers to agriculturally based industries and populations and the public expenditures on behalf of these groups have tended to solve the pressing rural problems. Alleviation of rural poverty and dependency will be of benefit not only to rural areas and individuals, but will also be a step toward a lessening of the potential for increased social and welfare problems in urban areas.

Overview

This report presents extensive data on the poor in Mississippi-- who they are, where they are, what are their characteristics. It points out some problematic areas in anti-poverty efforts and highlights some of the issues which are necessary to consider in the planning and effective implementation of anti-poverty programs. Since anti-poverty efforts are ultimately based on decisions as to the causal factors in poverty, a final

chapter reviews some of the ways that causal explanations of poverty may be categorized.

The effective amelioration of poverty depends on more than rhetoric or correctly phrased intentions. Poverty is an area in which ostensible solutions are easy to come by. It is another thing, however, to state with specificity the exact program which will be effective in accomplishing increased employment, greater productivity, or improved levels-of-living. This study seeks to provide a data base which can be utilized by legislators, planners, action agencies, and other interested persons in order that they may bring as much factual data to bear as possible on the problems which they attack. A sound factual basis, plus awareness of issues which may be raised and consequences which may be the likely result of a contemplated course of action, is necessary if planning is to be effective in charting salient courses of action.

CHAPTER 2

POVERTY: DEFINITION, MEASUREMENT, TRENDS

There is no hard and fast inseparable line which distinguishes the poor from the rest of society. The immediate meaning of the terms poor and poverty are intuitively grasped within whatever context they are used as referring to a deficiency of some quality or attribute relative to some actual or comparative normative standard. Gillin's definition of poverty as "that condition of living in which a person"... cannot maintain a standard of living high enough to provide for the physical and mental efficiency of himself and to enable his natural dependents to function usefully according to the standards of the society of which he is a member"¹ is probably as adequate as any general definition.

It is more appropriate to think of poverty as a concept as best characterized along a continuum rather than as a fixed point. However, if we are to go beyond impressionistic value judgements in thinking about poverty, some arbitrary line of measurement must be drawn. Thus we immediately encounter the problem of determining what factors are to be instrumental in drawing such a line, and, once having decided upon these criteria, of deciding at what point the line of demarcation is to be drawn.

Poverty is Relative to Time and Place

The determination of who is poor and by what standard of deprivation depends on many variables, including family size, age, assets held, needs, climate, consumer price levels, the opportunity to acquire in-kind items such as the growth of one's own food, and so on. A retired couple owning a small farm near Philadelphia, Mississippi might feel well-to-do in terms of income adequacy and living arrangements compatible with satisfactory or nonhardship living on the same income that might mean extreme privation for a family with several children in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.²

By American standards more than two-thirds of the families in England would be poor. Many nations in Africa and Asia would be delighted if they could raise their living standards to approximate that of the poorest in America. Ulmer has noted that "even the comfortable countries of Denmark and Holland, both of which probably hold that they have eliminated poverty, would be embarrassed by the American standard, because judged by it, a substantial proportion of their populations are poor."³ Such comparisons do not imply that present American standards are extravagant or wrong, but rather that standards are socially determined by definitions which vary according to people and place.

Furthermore, the notion of who is poor differs sharply over periods of time. Although it is small consolation to those in need by contemporary standards, many of the poor today would have qualified as affluent a century or half-century ago.⁴ It can be argued that economic progress during this century has especially benefitted low income groups. Central heating, running water, telephones, automobiles, indoor toilets, have become such fixtures in our everyday environment they are taken for granted. These either did not exist or were the prizes of the rich in past generations. The phonograph, movies, radio, television, have provided the masses with entertainment and culture that were once the almost exclusive privilege of the well-to-do and have made great improvements in the level of living of the ordinary family.

Electricity in every home is taken as a more or less inalienable right of every contemporary American, and practically every rural as well as urban home is electrified. In 1930 ninety percent of the farm houses were without electricity.⁵ As late as 1950, some thirty percent of the houses in Mississippi were without electricity. In eight counties less than fifty percent of the houses had electrical service and less than sixty percent were so equipped in an additional thirteen Mississippi counties.⁶ Since the wealthy could provide conveniences not available to the masses, electrification, access to communication, improved transportation, water systems, all illustrate a diffusion of technological and economic progress that have especially benefitted the poor and average or working class citizenry.

Poverty is Subjective

It should also be noted that poverty in fact is intensely subjective. To observe that the contemporary poor possess household appliances beyond the dreams of a Roman emperor, or that their deprivation would mean affluence for the poor of India, is scarcely a satisfactory response to the "psychological poor."⁷ As the President's Commission on Income Maintenance observed:

Most of the poor do not live apart from the larger society in terms of their hopes and aspirations... They become aware of what others have... The poor are living poorly and are aware of it. They are generally unhappy with their circumstances and would like to be unpoor.⁸

The relative and subjective nature of poverty does not mean that contemporary American poverty is any less evil, less destructive, or less desirable. It means that the poverty which remains is an even more severe problem. When the majority of Americans lived at a relative level of deprivation that would constitute impoverishment today, poverty was less of a social problem because many people regarded poverty as inevitable, and the technological means for

substantial improvement in the relative standard of living did not exist. The heart of the contemporary poverty problem is the relative deprivation of the poor.⁹

Consequently, it is largely irrelevant that no one, rich or poor, possessed a television set or an air conditioner in 1920. Miller has noted how yesterday's luxury becomes today's necessity:

...it is very likely that for some poor families material possessions may be merely relics of an earlier affluence. Others among the poor may obtain such gifts as hand-me-downs from more prosperous friends or relatives, as gifts, or even by the very expensive process of "paying a penny down and a penny forever"....The ownership of an automobile or a television set may be a cause of poverty in an affluent society. Any man who cannot afford to buy a television set when all of his neighbors have them is probably going to feel poor...Poverty in its truest sense is more than mere want; it is want mixed with a lack of hope.¹⁰

The ultimate meaning of a decent standard of living is necessarily subjective, and as the standard of those above them in the economic hierarchy changes, those who stay the same feel more deprived. Harrington has put the issue into perspective. "Shall we say to the American poor that they are better off than ... the Russian poor? I want to tell every...American that it is intolerable that so many millions should be maimed in...spirit when it is not necessary that they should be." The standard of comparison, he states, "is not how much worse things used to be. It is how much better they could be..."¹¹

Whatever the standard of real or relative deprivation may be in determining who is or who is not poor, poverty is a matter of social definition. This definition is the result of what kind of people, in what time and place, with what level of technology available, and with what value structure, regard a certain level of deprivation as a problem in the sense that it is an undesirable condition about which something can be done through collective action.

POVERTY AS A MATTER OF PUBLIC CONCERN

Poverty is nothing new; most of history has been characterized by a struggle to obtain sufficient sustenance for survival. Neither is poverty new in America. The story of the colonies and the Puritan heritage, and the westward expansion, enrich history with tales of poverty.

Prior to the turn of the century Jacob Riis awakened New York City's conscience about the plight of the poor by his description of

"how the other half" lives, while Henry George, struck by the seeming paradox of poverty amidst plenty, sought by his Progress and Poverty to awaken the nation to perils of unearned increments and land speculation which he felt perpetuated poverty amidst progress.

Many persons regarded poverty as ultimately necessary and good as a goad to right living and behavior, as well as inevitable. The tendency was to see the etiology of poverty totally within deficiencies or pathologies of the individual; the poor were poor because their character was flawed, and misery was a deserved companion and punishment for vice and sloth. Calvinist doctrine fused the Jacksonian outlook that everyone could climb the social ladder a la Jack Armstrong or Horatio Alger by pulling himself up by his own bootstraps (his efforts and diligence often winning him the favor of his betters), while paupers were relegated to the purgatory of personal failure.

The prescribed antidote was for persons to live thriftily and frugally, to labor diligently, to save for old age, and above all, not to become a public charge. Although there was more poverty than today and the absolute deprivation was greater, an important distinction was made between the respectable poor and paupers. Pauperism, or those who were characterized by high rates of social disorganization such as mental illness, crime, or alcoholism, was regarded as a problem for society largely because of the inconvenience which their presence caused the nonpaupers. Poverty in terms of any injustice in the distribution of desired goods and services or in terms of a social organization in which the poor were victims of the way society was organized was hardly a social problem in the sense of large numbers of people defining it as a problem which could be overcome through collective action. Most individuals expected to be among those classes described as "respectable but poor" or the "working poor." The totally indigent in prisons, asylums, or almshouses were thought to be there because of their own attributes. Often a defective biological inheritance or constitution was thought to be the culprit.

Many people felt that the presence of indigents, poor widows, the ill, the orphaned, and those regarded as racially inferior, were toxins to the social fabric, and felt that public intervention in their behalf would hinder social progress.¹² A major philosophical debate of the era (which like all ideologies of the directions in which society should be moving and manner of implementing ways to get there, had direct practical and political consequences for public policy) revolved around whether civilization and social progress could best be fostered by uninhibited laissez-faire evolution (social Darwinism) or through the application of rational intelligence to guide social development in desirable directions through planning, foresight, and legislative intervention (teleological thought).

Effect of Populism and Progressivism on Social Attitudes

Transformation of the rural and agrarian nation of Lee and Lincoln into an urban industrial mode forced problems to the forefront

for which a prescription of the American beliefs of independence and self-help were not totally adequate solutions. Widespread dissatisfaction among rural elements who felt that progress and the good life were passing them by, and often at their expense, through control of the nation's financial and industrial power, was fanned into the proportions of a social movement. The culmination of the Populist movement as a national political entity was probably reached by the nomination of William Jennings Bryan as the presidential candidate of the Democratic and of the Populist Parties in 1896.¹³

The Progressive Movement, which carried forth the populist mantle early in the twentieth century, attempted two major modifications in Americans' attitudes about poverty. One was the argument that poverty was a social (rather than an individual phenomenon) which often originated in conditions which were beyond the power of the individual to alter. Also, the Progressives conceptualized poverty by reference to needs rather than in terms of moral worth or dependency. They sought to foster reforms with the positive objective of expanding democratic opportunity rather than the merely custodial functions of isolating and handling troublesome elements.¹⁴

Modern technology and rising expectations made possible steady increases in absolute level of deprivation which made a person poor.¹⁵ The Bureau of Labor Statistics computed a minimum standard of living for a family of a cotton mill worker in 1909 which figures out to about \$1,000 in current prices. By 1923, the Bureau decided that a five-person family was poor only if it had an income under \$1,900 per year.

John Lewis Gillin, one of the first generation of academic sociologists, called attention in the early 1920s to "recent studies by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (which) have shown an unexpected amount of poverty. We have been so obsessed by the belief that in rich America there is little poverty, except that of the inefficient, that it was startling¹⁶ to learn that a growing number of fairly capable, industrious, and frugal people have been pushed into the quagmire."

Although economic conditions improved during the prosperous twenties, over one-half of the population was poor according to contemporary standards. In 1928, Herbert Hoover declared in accepting the presidential nomination, "We shall soon... be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." Only a few years later President Roosevelt's reminder that "one-third of the nation" had failed to achieve a semblance of the American standard of living was impressed into public consciousness.

The severity of the Depression resulted in the first recognized role of the federal government as an instrument of positive intervention in raising the levels-of-living of the poor. The subsequent Social Security Act which was to provide mandatory "insurance" security at retirement for persons occupied in "covered" employment, and also provided for categorical assistance primarily to the aged, was hailed as a trailblazing milestone of enlightened social legislation. It was

expected the latter provision would gradually become unnecessary as citizens became "insured" against economic deprivation. The Social Security Act was the first welfare legislation which set up a distributive system of national scope and was part of the shift of opinion about the desirable role of government which led to drastic alterations in the older balance of the federalized system of limited centralized domestic functions of the national sovereignty.

World War II was a historical watershed between the old life and the new, with the fifties continuing employment at unprecedentedly higher wages and vast expansion of the industrial plant. In the quarter-century 1935-1960 real disposable per capita income is estimated to have risen by about 85 percent with a corresponding rise of forty to seventy-five percent in the level-of-living regarded as the poverty line.¹⁷

Expanded Consumption of the 1950s

Of course pockets of poverty continued to exist, but they were thought to be on the way to incorporation into "the affluent society" by the overflow of abundance stimulated by the increased mass consumption and production. Specific cases caused by individual failure or misfortune could be handled by the provision of an absolute minimum of support by the ongoing welfare enterprise while concentrations of low-income groups could be guided into their privilege if not their duty of consumption by treating individual deficiencies and expanding motivation through altered social attitudes.

The low-income population received the attention of sociologists and agricultural economists¹⁸ who studied their possessions, attitudes, aptitudes, and aspirations with indefatigable persistence.¹⁹ Poverty as such, however, was not a concern thought to require any vast mobilization of public efforts or resources. With the poor docile and the prevailing faith that orderly economic growth would provide a comparatively reasonable standard of living for all who chose to take advantage of the opportunities which an optimistic and expanding economy seemingly provided, there was an implicit assumption that the basic grinding problems had been solved. Technology had become a great equalizer enabling the masses to arrive at where only privileged minorities had been able to go. Those whose experience had acquainted them with the era of a struggle for existence of the immediate past marvelled at the difference, vowed that their progeny would have a better life than they did, and sometimes wondered that the children of the fifties, freed from the physical constrictions of the past, seemed to feel that the benefits they took for granted came effortlessly from a never-ending conveyor belt completely divorced from any hardship or effort.

However, the supposed affluence of non-officially low income commonality who existed below the level of the more successful managerial and professional classes and the unionized labor employed

in large enterprises who were the more obvious beneficiaries of the general prosperity of the country was an image that was a little pale. Well-off by the standards of the rest of the world, "not obviously used to comfort or even convenience, anxious at the cost of each purchase even of necessities.... forced to scrimp with each dollar as the poor are still forced to scrimp with every penny,"²⁰ they were not affluent by what American society advertised as everyday standards of convenience, comfort, and dignity.²¹ And, as Michael Harrington was shortly to point out with an eloquence that captured public attention, the development of American society was creating an emotional and existential ignorance of poverty which hid from view "forty to fifty million Americans who did not enjoy a decent standard of living."

Poverty as a Public Issue

Several factors contributed to the shattering of the illusion that general prosperity had driven the spectre of poverty from the land. The Civil Rights movement helped focus attention on poverty and deprivation as a by-product of racial discrimination. The attention of opinion makers on poverty related issues and the "tide of rising expectations" in the black community "was a first step toward a full recognition of the nature and extent of the problem - the bitter paradox of persistent self-perpetuating human misery of want... amidst steadily expanding over-all affluence."²²

The most direct variable stimulating the discovery of poverty as a social problem must be attributed to publication of The Other America (1962) by Michael Harrington, which had a direct influence on national policy toward the poor. This book influenced President Kennedy to make a major policy declaration of a "war on poverty" which his successor Lyndon B. Johnson was able to implement through Congressional action. Beginning in the early sixties, the poor found themselves not only the subject of major federal legislation, but for the first time since the Depression a focus of interest for social idealists in search of a cause.²³ More important, it had finally become official policy to "mobilize the human and financial resources of the nation to combat poverty in the United States" and "eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty by opening to everyone... the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."²⁴

On March 16, 1964, President Johnson sent a "Message on Poverty" to the United States Congress which called attention to "fifty million Americans-- one-fifth of our people--on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed." This statement is said to have "marked official recognition of the existence of broadspread deprivation in a nation characterized by conspicuous consumption."²⁵ The same year the Economic Opportunity Act (now Community Services Act) dedicated the nation to "the elimination of poverty by 1976 when the country's two-hundredth anniversary would be celebrated."²⁶

Economic Opportunity Act

Title II of the EOA provided for community action agencies and programs to focus local, State, private and federal resources upon the goal of enabling low-income persons "to attain the skills, knowledge, and motivations and secure the opportunities needed for them to become fully self-sufficient."²⁷ Provision was made to encourage State agencies to provide technical assistance and coordination to communities and local agencies conducting programs under this title.²⁸

The Mississippi Office of Economic Opportunity received its initial grant from OEO on May 1, 1965. In May, 1972 the Mississippi OEO was given a dual title by executive order designating the office as the Governor's Office of Human Resources. Community Action Agencies were first organized in Mississippi in 1966 under provisions of the EOA of 1964, chartered under State law as private non-profit corporations. In 1973, eighteen community action agencies were in operation in Mississippi.

These agencies involved over 200,000 program participants in head start, drop-out prevention, senior opportunity services, emergency food and flood relief, manpower training, neighborhood service centers, housing development, credit union, nutrition, economic development and other programs in carrying out the objective of breaking the poverty syndrome and providing opportunities for improved levels-of-living.

The nation, as well as the State, has been awakened to the realization that poverty is an issue of community wide importance. As Edward Banfield has observed:

In the last analysis... the quality of a society must be judged by its tendency to produce desirable human types... It is clear ... that poverty, ignorance and racial (and other) injustices are among the most important of the general conditions affecting the essential welfare of individuals. It is plausible, too, to suppose that these conditions have a very direct bearing on the health of society.²⁹

POVERTY MEASUREMENT AND TRENDS

Alternative Measures

It is impossible to determine who are the poor and what are their ecological and demographic characteristics unless some objective measurement can be agreed upon. Opinion as to the appropriate

measures differ among cultures and individuals.³⁰

One method is to take a straight money figure. The figure of \$3,000 money income for families and \$1,500 for individuals was frequently employed in drawing the poverty line in the use of 1960 census figures.³¹ In 1960 over one-half of the families in Mississippi (51.6%) were poor according to this criterion.³² This approach is to arbitrarily set the poverty level in terms of an absolute income figure which indicates some minimum level-of-living.

A second way to define poverty is to use a relative standard such as some fraction of mean or median income.³³ When the poor are defined this way they represent those who lag behind the standards of society. A third way to define poverty is in terms of the total share of area income received by some segment of the population, customarily the bottom twenty percent of the population. If the poor are defined as the bottom twenty percent of the income distribution, the absolute levels-of-living of the poor might improve, but the bottom twenty percent would always be poor irrespective of the level-of-living which their income provided.

If an absolute line of \$3,000 money income per year is the measure used, there has been a tremendous decrease in the proportion of poor families in the past several decades. The percent of families in the United States whose income was less than one-half of the median income of the country remained the same (25%) in 1970 as in 1950. While the dollar incomes of most people rose during this period, one-fourth of the population remained relatively as far behind as ever.

Definition of poverty by the "share" approach illustrates how that "under our political and economic system, increased productivity does not resolve the problems of redistribution; it merely perpetuates the inequality in income in wealth."³⁴ In 1950 and 1970 the lowest fifth of the income recipients in the United States received 4.5% and 5.5% respectively of the total income, compared to over 40% of the total income for highest fifth.

SSA Poverty Guidelines

Passage of the EOA in 1964 necessitated a uniform definition of poverty for CAP guidelines that would avoid the deficiencies of the \$3,000 total family income measure. Much of the discussion regarding the war on poverty when it first became a public issue centered on the determination of target populations.³⁵ Accordingly, efforts were undertaken by the U.S.D.A., the Social Security Administration, and the OEO to develop an index-of-poverty based on the estimated minimum money income to support an average family of given composition at the lowest level consistent with the standards of living prevailing in the United States. The new poverty line was drawn separately for each of 124 different types of families with poverty thresholds determined by the sex of the family head, the total number of other

adults, farm or nonfarm residence, and the number of children under 18.³⁶

The 1969 thresholds utilized in the 1970 census ranged from \$1,487 for a female unrelated individual 65 years old or beyond residing on a farm to \$6,116 for nonfarm family of seven or more persons. The average poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four headed by a male was \$3,745.³⁷ This index of poverty, which is revised annually to allow for changes in the Consumer Price Index, is the working definition used for Community Services Administration funded programs. The 1975 poverty threshold for a nonfarm family of four was \$5,050.³⁸

The Trends of Poverty

Table 1 shows the number and percent of poor persons according to the poverty thresholds for 1959-1974. A steady reduction was made in the absolute number as well as the percentage of poor persons between 1959 and 1969 when the number of poor as measured by the official SSA index decreased by 39% (15.4 million persons) from 39.5 million poor in 1959 to 24.1 million poor in 1969. The proportion of poor in the total population decreased from 22.4% to 12.1% during this time. The indicated decrease in poverty in the 1960s prompted the President's Council on Economic Advisors to state that if the "reductions in the number of poor persons could be continued, poverty would be eliminated entirely in about ten years."³⁹

TABLE 1
PERSONS WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL,
UNITED STATES, 1959-1974

YEAR	NUMBER (MILLION)	POOR PERSONS PERCENT
1959	39.5	22.4
1960	39.9	22.2
1961	39.6	21.9
1962	38.6	21.0
1963	36.4	19.5
1964	36.1	19.0
1965	33.2	17.3
1966	28.5	14.7
1967	27.8	14.2
1968	25.4	12.8
1969	24.1	12.1
1970	25.4	12.6
1971	25.6	12.5
1972	24.5	11.9

TABLE 1 (cont'd.)

YEAR	NUMBER (MILLION)	POOR PERSONS	PERCENT
1973	23.0		11.1
1974	24.3		11.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1959 to 1974" P-60, No. 120 (January, 1976).

In 1974, however, there were more poor Americans than in 1969, with some 24.3 million Americans living in poverty. Over one million Americans were added to the poverty category between 1973 and 1974. In contrast to the 1960s, during the first half of the 1970s it seemed apparent that the problem of poverty was not decreasing in scope. This was a reflection of the downturn in the economy coupled with substantial inflation.

Table 2 shows the poverty status of families in the United States in 1974 by race of family head. Some 9.2% of all American families were poor, which involved 7% of the white families and 28% of the black families. Figure 1 shows the number of both white and black persons below the poverty level between 1966 and 1969. The rate of decline was sharper for blacks during this period (20% compared to 14%). There has been no discernible trend for either race for the 1969-1974 period.

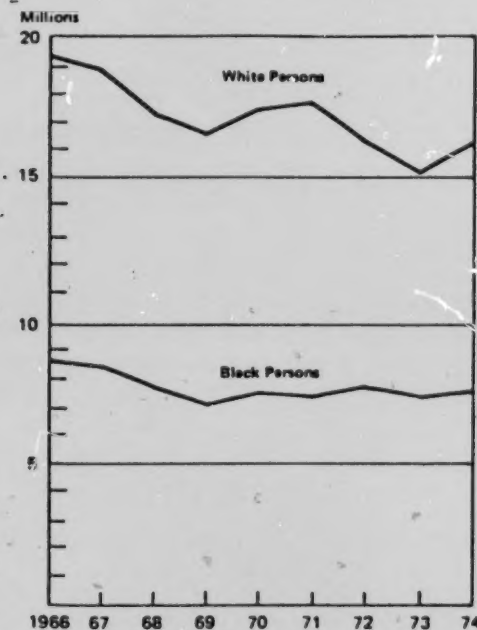
Some 22% of the heads of poor white families and 13% of the heads of poor black families worked full time the year round in 1974 (Table 2). Over one-half (57.4%) of the black families whose head did not work in 1974 were poor, in contrast to 19% for whites.

In 1974 some 46% of all poverty families were headed by a female, compared to 36% in 1969 and 23% in 1959. Thus there has been a long term decrease in the percentage of total poverty families headed by males. However the proportion of female headed families who are poor did not change between 1969 and 1974,⁴⁰ reflecting the increase in female headed families in the total population.

Poor families headed by a female in 1974 were more likely to be black, younger, and have fewer children under 18 present than were their counterparts five years earlier. In 1969 some 40% of all poor families headed by women were black, while 44% of the poor female headed families in 1974 were black. Regardless of poverty status, black families headed by women (73%) were more likely to receive public assistance income than corresponding white families (55%).

FIGURE 1

PERSONS BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL BY RACE: 1966-1974



Source: Same as Table 1, p. 5.

TABLE 2

POVERTY STATUS OF FAMILIES BY WORK EXPERIENCE AND RACE OF HEAD,
UNITED STATES, 1974

WORK EXPERIENCE AND RACE OF HEAD	1974			
	TOTAL	NUMBER	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION	PERCENT OF TOTAL
All families ¹	55,712	5,109	100.0	9.2
Head worked last year.....	45,146	2,691	52.7	6.0
Year round full time....	34,195	980	19.2	2.9
Part year or part time.....	10,951	1,711	33.5	15.6

TABLE 2 (cont'd.)

WORK EXPERIENCE AND RACE OF HEAD	1974			
	TOTAL	NUMBER	PERCENT DISTRIBU- TION	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Head did not work last year.....	9,639	2,390	46.8	24.9
White families ¹	49,451	3,482	100.0	7.0
Head work last year.....	40,550	1,935	55.6	4.8
Year round full time.....	31,174	772	22.2	2.5
Part year or part time.....	9,376	1,163	33.4	12.4
Head did not work last year.....	8,088	1,524	43.8	18.8
Negro families ¹	5,498	1,530	100.0	27.8
Head work last year.....	3,993	712	46.5	17.8
Year round full time.....	2,558	196	12.8	7.7
Part year or part time...	1,435		33.7	36.0
Head did not work last year.....	1,419	815	53.3	57.4

¹Totals include members of the Armed Forces.

Source: Same as Table 1, p. 4.

The percentage of persons age 65 and over who were poor decreased from 37.7% in 1959 to only 15.7% in 1974. The decline since 1970 (when the proportion was 21.6%) has been attributed to substantial boosts in social security benefits. About one in six elderly Americans were poor in 1974.

A capsule profile of poor Americans in 1974 reveals that:

Two times as many white Americans (16 million) than nonwhite Americans (8 million) were poor.

Of the 24.3 million poor persons, 19.4 million were family members (5.1 million families) and 4.8 on related individuals.

33% of the families headed by females and 6% of the families

headed by males, were poor.

More poor families were headed by males (11 million) than by females (8.5 million).

There were 10 million children in families below the poverty line.

Nearly 16% of the population age 65 and over were poor.

SUMMARY

The definitions of poverty which are applicable at any particular time and place are largely determined by what kind of people hold what values and live in what kind of culture. There is no absolute measure for determining who is poor that is universally applicable for all places and circumstances. Since definitions of poverty are constantly upgraded, the period in history makes a great difference too. Furthermore, poverty implies subjective or psychological dimensions as well as purely economic factors.

Although poverty itself is by no means a recent phenomenon, the recognition of poverty as a social problem about which something can be done through collective action is a relatively recent development. The absolute lessening of poverty has made contemporary poverty more obvious and harmful as it exists amidst the general affluence enjoyed by a relatively larger proportion of the population. Poverty has come to be widely recognized as major policy issue for which governmental action for its removal and alleviation is appropriate.

The degree to which progress has been made in eliminating poverty largely depends on how poverty is defined and measured. The SSA poverty thresholds, which provide a range of poverty income cut offs depending on family composition and farm or nonfarm residence, is widely used as a standardized measure for poverty delineation and program administration.

By this measure, some 24.3 million Americans were living in poverty in 1974, a figure virtually unchanged from 1969. Over 16 million of this number were white, while 7.5 million black Americans were poor. About 9% of the white population and over 30% of the blacks in American were poor.

1. John Gillin, Poverty and Dependency, (New York: Century, 1922), p. 23.
2. Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, The New Poverty, (Public Services Department, FRB of Philadelphia, n.d.), p. 5. Buckley, noting that true differences in economic standing between the States are not reflected in comparative measures of dollar income since "A dollar in Mississippi takes you much further than a dollar in New York" not to mention "intangible benefits such as unpolluted air, uncrowded living conditions, the absent temptations of costly urban distractions," adds that one might easily conclude that "adjusted, the standard of living in Mississippi (lowest per capita income State) is equal to the standard of living in New York (highest per capita income State)." William F. Buckley, Four Reforms - A Guide for the Seventies, (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1972), pp. 40-41. Arnold and Rosenbaum note that certain essential costs in New York (such as winter clothing) are not required in Mississippi, but that "Mississippians do not have access to the range of free services available to New Yorkers" in compensation for area cost-of-living differentials. Mark G. Arnold and Greg Rosenbaum, The Crime of Poverty (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Co., 1973), pp. 8, 9.
3. Melville Ulmer, The Welfare State: U.S.A. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), p. 68.
4. One only need read accounts of the living conditions of the working and middle class bulk of Mississippi's population in the 1930s or earlier to recognize that the character of life has been drastically altered for the average family through modern technology and social organization. However, to some extent the improved life conditions of the majority may make the plight of the contemporary poor more visible and disequalizing. For example, lack of indoor plumbing was not a deprivation when this was characteristic of the living conditions of most persons. Since the technology for higher living standards is available on a mass scale, those whose living conditions remain on a par with the average of the past may be more deprived because their living conditions have remained similar to those characteristic of most of the population of past generations (housing of the rural poor might be a fair example), while in other respects it has improved considerably. Penicillin works for the poor as well as for any social segment. At the same time, the difference between standards regarded as minimal for a decent living have been so greatly upped and so widely diffused to most citizens that the relative deprivation of the poor and the accompanying heightened consciousness of these differences among those proportionately fewer who remain disequalized may be more problematic than prior to the general improvements. It might be said that the "poverty line" keeps rising at about the same pace as man's control over nature.

5. Rose Friedman, Poverty Definition and Perspective (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1965).
6. J.V.D. Saunders, et. al., Mississippi's Counties; Some Social and Economic Aspects, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 6, 1957), p. 68.
7. Bendiner has defined the "psychological poor" as those poor "who manage to eat enough to keep going but who suffer as keenly as those below them on the economic ladder because they have so little hope of ever enjoying what the rest of American society routinely enjoys...." Robert Bendiner and Kenneth Davis (ed.), The Paradox of Poverty in America, (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1969), p. 39.
8. President's Commission on Income Maintenance, Poverty Amid Plenty (Washington: USGPO, 1969), p. 21.
9. It may be argued that from a consumer goods standpoint, such as whether a family has electric appliance, television, telephone, automobile transportation, or whether their children were born in hospitals, there is little poverty in the U.S. today. See John B. Parrish, "Is U.S. Really Filled with Poverty?" U.S. News and World Report, (September 4, 1967), p. 51. Caplovitz has argued that the poor have bought television sets, phonographs, and telephones to embellish their social status, compensating for their low social status by consumption. See Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), p. 124.
10. Herman Miller, Rich Man Poor Man, (New York: Crowell, 1971), p. 111.
11. Michael Harrington, The Other American, (New York: MacMillan, 1962).
12. For description see Richard Hofstadter's Social Darwinism in America or Vernon Parrington's Main Currents in American Thought.
13. In Mississippi the efforts of the small farmer-working class element to make government work in the interest of the masses of its citizenry has been described by A.D. Kirwan as the "revolt of the rednecks." It was a period in which small farmers and laborers challenged the political representatives of the wealthy and corporate interests in the State. Although not without its share of alleged scandal and demagoguery, the politics of the period was forced to respond to the needs of small-farmers and wage earners. The result was seen in such reforms as public education programs, guarantee of bank deposits, and regulation of corporations. A.D. Kirwan, Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876 - 1925, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951).
14. Progressivism represented a triumph of teleological thought on social problem issues. It was the influence of a number of currents,

including the influence of Samuel Gompers and the social goals sought by unionization in labor, the rise of the "social gospel" with a distinctly this world reformist bent in religion, the influence of consciousness raising journalism represented by "the muckrakers," the influence of academicians in the expanding social science disciplines, and the continuing influence of populism in the political sphere. By 1970, most of principles earlier advocated by the Populist Party had been enacted into law..

15. Relevant to this point is Thernstrom's observation of the steady erosion of the subcultures which defined the expectations of working men in the past.:

There were once working-class enclaves... within which the mobility values of the larger society were redefined in more attainable terms. The working men of nineteenth century America... toiled with remarkable dedication to accumulate the funds to pay for tiny cottages of their own and were amazingly successful at it. There are some contemporary analogues to those cottages.... But everything about contemporary America conspires to make both copping out entirely and lowering one's sights more difficult.

Stephen Thernstrom, "Is there Really a New Poor?" The Paradox of Poverty in America, pp. 32-33.

16. Perhaps the discovery must be made episodically. The Burke's describe Mollie Orshansky's studies of the demographic distribution of poverty as "startling" in their revelation of the extent of poverty among full-time working families. They quote Miss Orshansky in an interview with them: "I thought it would be impressive-- the poor families headed by the year-round workers, the working-poor, the guys who do everything we tell them to, work hard, yet can't make it, but I don't think anyone realized how impressive the number would be." Vincent and Vee Burke, Nixon's Good Deed: Welfare Reform (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 12. Orshansky's studies of the early 1960s are credited with destroying the myth that no working family could be poor.
17. However, it might be logically contended that the "myth of the New Affluence" was in fact just an expansion of the economy which disproportionately benefitted the upper and upper-middle classes while it left the poor and the deprived to gather crumbs that fell from the table. Richard Parker, "The Myth of Middle America," in Marc and Phyllis Pilisuk, How We Lost the War on Poverty, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1973), p. 28. Parker's contention is based on the relative distribution of shares of income rather than absolute levels-of-living. Ibid., pp. 27-43.

18. The rural population was a loci for concentration largely because the funding for studies came through the Agricultural Experiment Stations which were regarded as primarily serving a rural clientel, a view which has been altered in recent years in correspondence to population shifts.
19. Frank Welch, The Rural Family and Its Source of Income (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 481, 1951); Herbert Hoover and John C. Crecink, Rural Nonfarm Families of Mississippi - Incomes and Resources, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 648, 1962); Harold Kaufman, Rural Families with Low Incomes: Problems of Adjustment (State College: Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 9, 1957); F.C. Fliegel, "Aspirations of Low-Income Farmers and Their Performance and Potential for Change," Rural Sociology, 24 (September, 1959).
20. Henry Fairlie, The Spoiled Child of the Western World: The Miscarriage of the American Idea in our Time (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1976), p. 218.
21. A phenomenon treated to some extent in Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders.
22. Kenneth Davis, The Paradox of Poverty In America, p. 5.
23. Stephen M. Rose, The Betrayal of the Poor: The Transformation of Community Action (Schenkman Pub. Co., 1972), p. 1.
24. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, August 20, 1964, As amended 3/1/70, p. 1.
25. Rose, op. cit.
26. Herman Miller, "Income Concentration and the Problem of Poverty," in Ralph Kaminsky (ed.), Introduction to Economic Issues, (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, 1970), p. 188.
27. EOA of 1964, p. Section 230, p. 42.
28. Ibid., Part C, Supplemental Programs and Activities, pp. 42-45.
29. Banfield, The Unheavenly City, p. 124.
30. In fact, one can alternatively choose definitions which suit his purpose. If one wishes to demonstrate the progress of society over the past two or three centuries or generations he can use a definition of the former period and compare the condition of the poor of today with the poor of yesterday. Or he can use the definition of poverty in other countries and demonstrate how much better off are the poor in the United States. Rose Friedman, Poverty: Its Definition: Definition and Perspective, p. 14.

31. "Census Shows State Areas of Low Income," Mississippi Farm Research, 29 (December, 1966), p. 2.
32. By comparison, 21.4% of the families in the U.S. were poor. In Mississippi, 36% of the urban families and 62% of the rural families were poor, contrasted to 16% and 34% respectively for the United States. Nearly 85% of Mississippi's 1950 families had incomes of less than \$3,000 in 1949, compared with nearly 45% for the United States as a whole. In 1970, 25.2% of the Mississippi families reported 1969 incomes of less than \$3,000, compared to 10.3% for the United States. Ibid., J.V.D. Saunders, et al., Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, p. 68. U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, 1972, pp. 4, 268.
33. The mean is the arithmetic average; the median divides a distribution in half with an equal number of cases above and below the median figure.
34. Dennis R. Eckart and John C. Ries, "The American Presidency," in L.N. Riesback (ed.). People vs. Government: The Responsiveness of American Institutions, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), p. 32.
35. Mollie Orshansky, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View of Poverty," Social Security Bulletin, (July, 1965), p. 7.
36. A detailed description of the original poverty index developed by the Social Security Administration may be found in Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor: Another look at the Poverty Profile," Social Security Bulletin (January, 1965). Cf.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Revision in Poverty Statistics, 1959 to 1968," Series P-2, No. 68.
37. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-D26, Mississippi, App. 26.
38. See Poverty Definition Appendix Table 1.
39. Arnold and Rosenbaum, p. 2.
40. Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1974," P-60, No. 102, pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER 3

MISSISSIPPI: THE STATE AND HER POPULATION

Time Past Becomes Time Present

In the Mississippi in 1940 the mule and the sharecropper were ubiquitous parts of an economic system which helped keep much of her population in an economic backseat, while segregation afforded social controls over blacks similar to those which slavery had afforded in the past.¹ Like the rest of the South, Mississippi reached a watershed in historical development in the 1940s.² The years of World War II were catalysts for change in Mississippi, opening the State to the outside world and setting in motion forces which over the past generation have brought about fundamental alterations in the institutions under which Mississippians live.³

One of the most far reaching changes has occurred in the economic realm. In the early decades of the century Mississippi was "an agrarian state still trying to live on cotton and riding the back of the tenant farmers."⁴ Although agriculture remains an important segment of the economy, Mississippi is no longer a predominately agrarian State. In 1965, for the first time in Mississippi's history, the number of workers in manufacturing exceeded those employed in agriculture.

Well into the twentieth century the ante-bellum tract of Oakland College (Now Alcorn University) and Planter's Agricultural and Mechanical Institute (Port Gibson) Professor E.N. Elliott's Cotton is King was descriptive of Mississippi's economy. Domination of the State by the one crop economy with its attendant tenancy, poverty, white supremacy, and general provincialism established the rhythm of the culture and set the tone for the way of life that made Mississippi of a reputation that was proverbial and distinct.⁵ The one-crop agricultural economy to which observers have attributed so much poverty is more diversified than ever as livestock, forestry, products, corn, soybeans and pecans have assumed greater significance, while the State's industrial growth represents a dramatic and irreversible break with her agrarian heritage.

In 1940, more than one of every two jobs in Mississippi was in the agricultural sector. Twenty years later this proportion was reduced to one in five. By 1970, there had been a marked transition from an agrarian society to an industrial and commercial economy. Not only had King Cotton been disposed from his throne by other products, agriculture had long lost its primacy. Farming could no longer be considered a way of life, but was a highly capitalized commercial enterprise requiring intensive technology and mechanization.

Changes have also been notable in the political realm. Voting patterns have indicated that the old Delta-Hills political cleavage dating back to antebellum antiquity may be being replaced by a rural-

urban split,⁶ while legislative reapportionment of the legislature along court drawn dicta "appears to be slowly but inexorably bringing an end to the Delta's outsize influence in the legislature."⁷

Differences in racial practices and attitudes in Mississippi today and only a decade ago are notable and distinct. Boland's observation that a Southern Rip Van Winkle awakening from a several decade sleep would not believe his senses at the differential role played by blacks in economic, educational, and political life is no less apt for Mississippi than for her sister Southern States. Not the least of this change is seen in the political realm, where the necessary racial stridency for political success in the past has been muted in response to new political and economic considerations. Though the blacks have long been a suppressed majority in Mississippi, by the 1970s the social and political developments of the times were making themselves felt to the extent that verities of the past which prescribed discrimination toward and subjugation of blacks were reversed and blacks assumed a new place in the State's society. It was not without emotion and some violence that Mississippi's ties to the segregationist past were broken, but by the mid-1970s Mississippi's success in adjustment to new ways was reflected in the fact that the State's blacks had more freedom from local controls and enjoyed more economic prosperity than ever before.

A description of Mississippi in the 1950s which appeared to capture many of its faces stated:

Mississippi has... wealth and poverty, education and illiteracy, progressivism and reaction. The tendency of many of its people to nurture traditions and to remember the past is but the natural inclination to look back to what was, and now seems to be, a brighter period. Their social heritage produces a fierce pride in their own history, customs, and institutions-- the "Southern way of life." It also produces resentment against external criticism and resistance to outside reformers or their suggestions. Yet, these same reforms are constantly being affected by local decisions; institutions and habits change here as elsewhere.⁸

This description still retains validity, although the achievement of agricultural diversification, comparative industrialization, and the altered policies resulting from the dethronement of segregation under pressure of the civil rights movement and federal legislation have resulted in dramatic changes. The mergence of time past into time present in Mississippi has been captured in Skates brief description:

One cannot conclude that the past is altogether dead in Mississippi. Yet one by one in the last three decades all of the basic themes of the previous hundred years have been altered-- King Cotton and agrarianism, sharecropping and segregation, and

feeling of alienation and insulation from the world outside. In their places... have come modern transportation and communication, industrialization, recession of the race question, agricultural diversification-- institutions not unlike those in other states.⁹

As Cross has remarked: "For Mississippi the past is gone, the future is open."¹⁰

MISSISSIPPI'S POPULATION

The principal resource of any area is its people. Population changes result from the social behavior of people. Representative types of changes might include families having less children, people marrying at later ages, movement of families from rural areas to towns and cities, increased proportions of divorced persons, or an increased number of people living beyond retirement. These as well as similar changes indicate the dynamic character of society in which human behavior patterns are altered over time. Awareness of such changes and trends are necessary to arrive at meaningful predictions of societal trends and needs. Consequently, population statistics are basic ingredients in the data base requisite for the creation and operation of action and planning programs at all levels.

One of the societal changes reflected in population statistics is the distribution of the population among geographic areas, particularly as this relates to the magnitude and direction of size over time. Another feature of population inquiry which is an essential ingredient for informed planning is that of the demographic characteristics of the population. The remainder of this chapter seeks to provide a brief overview of the changes, trends, and profile of the Mississippi population in terms of growth patterns, distribution, and basic demographic variables such as the racial, age, and sex composition of the population.

POPULATION GROWTH AND DISTRIBUTION

The three sources of population change in an area are natural increase (difference between births and deaths) and migration (population movement). These three variables in combination account for the redistribution of population within an area as well as its overall growth or decline.

Although there has been considerable redistribution of the State's population, the total population has been salubriously stable for the past four decades. Mississippi's enumerated population in 1970 (2,216,912) was only 1.5% larger than total population in 1930. This stable balance over the past generation has resulted from the combined interaction of urban growth, rural decline, and migration. Nevertheless, Mississippi's population in 1960 was the highest in the State's history (Table 1).

TABLE 1
MISSISSIPPI POPULATION BY RACE 1900-1970, AND TOTAL
POPULATION 1900-1974

YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1974	2,324,000	NA	NA
1970	2,216,912	1,393,283	823,629
1960	2,178,141	1,257,546	920,595
1950	2,178,914	1,188,632	990,282
1940	2,183,796	1,106,327	1,077,469
1930	2,009,821	998,077	1,011,744
1920	1,790,618	853,962	936,656
1910	1,797,114	786,111	1,011,003
1900	1,551,270	641,200	910,070

Source: 1900 - 1970 U.S. Census of Population, 1974, Current Population Reports, p. 26, No. 131 (August, 1975).

Rural - Urban Distribution

The census bureau employs several concepts to describe the rural and urban population. Briefly these are delineated as:

Rural - Urban Definitions

Urban Areas/Population: Persons living in places of 2,500 or more population.

Rural Areas/Population: Persons not living in urban areas.

Urban Definitions

Urbanized Areas: At least one city of 50,000 or more persons plus the surrounding closely settled territory that meets certain criteria of population density or land use.

Central Cities: The legal city.

Urban Fringe: Remainder of the urbanized area.

Metropolitan - Non Metropolitan Definitions

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA):

County containing a central city of 50,000 or more persons plus contiguous counties closely integrated on the basis of social and economic criteria.

Metropolitan Area/Population:

When used in reference to the SMSA concept, it means the area/population within the SMSA. Counties not within the SMSA would be non-metropolitan according to the SMSA definition.

In 1920, for the first time, as many as one-half of the nation's population lived in areas which the census bureau defined as urban. At this time Mississippi was only 13.4% urban. Although the rate of urbanization accelerated significantly after 1920, so that the population increased to 20%, 28% and 38% urban by 1960, Mississippi has remained a comparatively rural State. In 1970 Mississippi ranked highest in the South and fourth among all States in percentage of rural population, with its people apportioned as 55.5% rural and 44.5% urban in the 1970 census (Table 2). The 1970 census showed that 73.5% of the national population lived in urban areas.

TABLE 2

RURAL - URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION MISSISSIPPI, 1900 - 1970

Year	Total	Urban		Rural	
		Number	%	Number	%
1970	2,216,912	986,642	44.5	1,230,270	55.4
1960	2,178,141	820,805	37.7	1,357,336	62.3
1950	2,178,914	607,162	27.9	1,571,752	72.1
1940	2,183,796	432,882	19.8	1,750,914	80.2
1930	2,009,821	338,850	16.9	1,670,971	83.1
1920	1,790,618	240,121	13.4	1,550,497	86.6
1910	1,797,114	207,311	11.5	1,589,803	88.5
1900	1,551,270	120,035	7.7	1,431,235	92.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

1940 was a population benchmark for Mississippi in several respects. It marked the State's population peak prior to 1970 (Table 2). The nonwhite ratio was almost equal that year (Table 1). Furthermore it was the peak rural population size. Only since 1940 have rural population

trends been the inverse of urban trends. Prior to 1940 rural growth accompanied urban growth excepting the decade 1910 - 1920, and increased substantially as part of the escape-to-the-land trend during the Great Depression.¹¹

TABLE 3
PERCENT CHANGE IN POPULATION FOR SPECIFIED AREAS,
UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1970

	Urban	Rural	Metro	Non Metro
United States	19.2	-0.3	16.6	6.8
Mississippi	20	-9	15	0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

Table 3 shows the 1960-1970 percentage change in United States and Mississippi population for specified components. The largest decennial crease was among the urban population (20%) while the rural population in-creased by 9%. The metropolitan population increased by 15%, while there was hardly any net change in the nonmetropolitan population.

Circa 18% of Mississippi's population was metropolitan in 1970. Jackson alone contained one out of five urban Mississippians. Even so, the Mississippi population is much more dispersed than the national average. Some 69% of the U.S. population in 1970 resided in a metropolitan area, considerably more than the Mississippi population.

Perhaps as much as anything this differential shows the salubriously small size of Mississippi's urban centers which have not become sufficiently populated to be included in the SMSA concept. The Biloxi-Gulfport area did not become an SMSA until 1970, while Jackson has been an SMSA since the concept first appeared in decennial census reports in 1950.

Further information on distribution by area is seen in Table 4. In 1970, Mississippi had 276 incorporated places, 76 of which were urban. The 59 places of 2,500 - 9,999 population contained 28.9% of the total urban population. The 24 urban centers of 10,000 or more accounted for 68.6% of the total urban population. The remaining 2.5% of the urban population was in places considered urban because of density or proximity to an urban place.¹²

Of the total urban population of 987,000 some 666,000 lived outside of urbanized areas (cities of 50,000 or more and their densely settled

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY DEMOGRAPHIC AREA
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Area	No. of Units	Population	Percent Urban	Percent of Total
Total		2,216,912	44.5	100
Incorporated Places	276	1,074,343	--	--
Urban Places	83	986,642	100	44.5
Incorporated	76	938,840		
Unincorporated	7	47,802		
Places of 10,000 or more	24	677,062	68.6	30.5
Places of 2,500-9,999	59	284,976	28.9	12.8
Urbanized Areas	6	320,592	--	14.8
Places 1,000-2,499	70	116,017	--	5.2
All Non Urban				
Incorporated Places	200	135,503	--	6.5

Source; Original, U.S. Census of Population, 1970. Final Population
County, Advanced Report. PC(VI) -26.

fringe). Some 232,000 of the "urban" population reside in towns of less than 10,000 (Table 4).

Table 5 shows percentage changes in the Mississippi population 1960-1970 by size of place. Urbanized areas grew by 117.4%, central cities by 68.4% and the urban fringe, the fastest growing of all residential areas, by 2,429.3%. Due to the decline in urban places of less than 10,000 population, other urban areas decreased slightly (-1.1%).

Rural Population Changes

The actual and comparative decline of the rural population has been noted. There has been a dramatic shift in the makeup of the rural population itself. Most of the rural population is now nonfarm. As late as 1950 half of the Mississippi population lived on farms. By 1970 only 9.5% of the Mississippi population was classified as farm residents, compared with 4.8% for the nation. These changes have been a major factor in the movement and relocation of large sectors of the population.

The dramatic decrease in farm residence blankets the entire State. Only three counties decreased less than 70% between 1950 and 1970. In many counties the losses were greater than 90%.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION, BY AREA
MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1970

	Population	
	Number	Percent Change
The State	2,217*	1.8
Urban Total	987	20.2
Urbanized Areas	321	117.4
Central Cities	243	68.4
Urban Fringe	77	2,429.3
Other Urban	666	-1.1
Places of 10,000 or more	434	1.7
Places of 2,500 to 10,000	232	-5.9
Rural Total	1,230	-9.4
Places of 1,000 to 2,500	114	4.4
Other rural	1,114	-10.6
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas		
Biloxi-Gulfport	135	12.6
Jackson	259	17.0
Urbanized Areas		
Biloxi-Gulfport	122	--
Jackson	259	29.9
Memphis, Tennessee- Mississippi	664	21.9

* Rounded

Source: Mississippi Business Review, (March, 1975).

Equally as impressive as the high rates of change in the farm population has been the increase in the rural nonfarm population. All but six counties increased by at least 50%, while in some counties growth in this sector quadrupled.

Growth of the rural nonfarm population incorporates several types of societal changes:

1. Some of the farm loss and rural non-farm increase reflects a change of occupation rather than of residence.
2. Rural nonfarm population must also be seen as containing a component of urban spill or overspread.
3. The latter component reflects a pattern of continuing migration toward areas of urban concentration, and, as well, reflects, in some instances a decentralization of central urban centers.

4. The changing pattern reflects a trend toward mixing farm and off-farm occupations and residence. Farmers do not necessarily live on farms; the majority of the employed persons living on farms work at nonfarm occupations.

The changes are of considerable social and political impact.¹⁴ Bryant has put some of these effects into perspective:

...the interdependence of town and county has become more than a symbiosis of industries; it has penetrated the household unit and individual breadwinners. The days of a clearly defined farm bloc as well as the community-bounded rural way of life may be over. Industrial interdependence has established farm-to-factory commuting and urban types of conveniences for the rural Mississippian. If these kinds of occupational and residence patterns continue ...Mississippi may in the future be able to avoid dense urban concentrations which characterize so much of the nation.¹⁵

Urban growth must be interpreted in terms of its relationship to rural nonfarm trends. While some of the nonfarm growth represents a from town to outlying area movement, it is doubtless overwhelmingly a result of tendencies toward centralization. However, Mississippi, which has a total of 24 urban places of over 10,000 population and 59 towns of 2,500 - 10,000 size, seems to be developing a dispersed urban growth, a trend which is hypothesized as preferable to expanding supercities for future population distribution. In this era of automobile transportation and a constantly expanding highway system, population can be more dispersed residentially but more centrally employed than in the past. Commuting can be substituted for migration, and small cities can have industrial growth in their own right.¹⁶

Population Change in the 1970s

Between 1970 and 1974 the Mississippi population increased by 107,000 (4.8%), including 197,000 by natural increase and 10,000 by net migration. DeSoto, reflecting the continued growth of the urbanized area around Memphis, was the fastest growing county (35.5%). Rankin (24.1%), Jackson (18.5%), Lamar (16.7%) and Marshall Counties (15.4%) were other counties which increased by 15% or more. Eighteen Mississippi counties lost population during this period, with the largest percentage loss occurring in Issaquena County (-20.9%). Mississippi's SMSAs continued to show population growth. Rapid growth in DeSoto County, the Mississippi portion of the Memphis SMSA, was previously mentioned. This growth primarily resulted from a large net in-migration (28.9%). The Biloxi-Gulfport and Jackson SMSAs increased by 8.2% and 7.6% respectively during 1970-1974.

Future Growth

The U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis projects that Mississippi's population will likely increase by close to a quarter of a million by 1990. Extensive growth is anticipated for the State's two SMSA's, which are expected to account for two-thirds of the increase. Forecasts by the Environmental Protection Agency predicted an even larger growth for these areas. The prospects for continued urbanization, coupled with the previously noted decentralization, are likely to continue into the immediate future.¹⁸

A large segment of the United States has tended to equate growth and expansion with positive benefits. It is only recently that some popular recognition has been given to the thesis that bigness, growth, and expansion, is not an unmitigated good, and is not necessarily desirable from a quality of life perspective.¹⁹ Burrus has noted that in its urbanization trend "Mississippi and Mississippians are becoming more like the rest of the nation." He adds a timely caveat that national averages are not necessarily desirable models for aspiration.²⁰

Population Movement

Population movement is an important ingredient in the population trends and changes of an area and is of fundamental concern in social planning. For example, the effect of population redistribution on the areas of origin and destination as well as on the individual migrant is a basic factor in anti-poverty planning. Consideration of the impact of any particular program must take into account the unanticipated consequences or the serendipitous effect which the program may have in terms of its influence on population movement.²¹

It was noted earlier that Mississippi, despite its high birth rate, suffered only a slight population increase between 1940 and 1970 thanks to net out-movement of population. Tables 6 and 7 show the 1960-1970 net migration (difference between in and out migrants) and the net migration rates for Mississippi by age, race, and sex.

The net out-migration from Mississippi during 1960-1970 exceeded 250,000 persons. There was a slight net increase of whites in the population exchange, but an overwhelming loss of nonwhites.

The migration levels for particular age groups is a fundamental ingredient in economic analysis and program planning.²² The age groups which had the most out-migration were 20-24 and 25-29. This was true of both races. Whites age 20-24 and 25-29 showed out-migration rates of 4.7% and 14.1% respectively. Rates were higher for white males than for females. The net outflow of nonwhites amounted to more than 50% of each of the above groups. Figure 1 portrays the age specific net rate of the total population for Mississippi 1960-1970.

Sjaastad has suggested that the number of persons moving into Mississippi at the same time larger numbers have been leaving the State is partially due to the heterogeneity of occupations and industries.

TABLE 6

NET MIGRATION, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Age 1970	Total	Total Male	Female	Total	White Male	Female	Total	Nonwhite Male	Female
All Ages	-260616	-133833	-126783	9044	1821	7223	-269661	-135654	-134007
0- 4	-20186	-10411	-9774	-1601	-766	-835	-18585	-9645	-8939
5- 9	-39913	-20953	-18960	-1298	-1211	-87	-33615	-19743	-18872
10-14	-23488	-10410	-13078	5010	2813	2197	28498	13223	15274
15-19	-25152	-12325	-12826	6362	3690	2672	-31514	-16015	-15499
20-24	-65366	-36045	-29321	-5838	-3526	-2312	-59528	-32519	-27009
25-29	-64574	-36726	-27848	-14947	-10090	-4857	-49627	-26637	-22991
30-34	-17156	-9754	-7402	784	-348	1132	-17940	-9406	-8534
35-39	-4102	-1866	-2237	3341	1609	1732	-7443	-3475	-3968
40-44	-1285	257	-1542	3564	2180	1384	-4849	-1923	-2926
45-49	-3679	-775	-2904	1440	1078	862	-5119	-1853	-3266
50-54	-1324	497	-1821	2270	1466	804	-3593	-969	-2625
55-59	-2759	-457	-2302	1578	1031	546	-4337	-1488	-2848
60-64	3785	2276	1508	3812	2021	1791	27	256	283
64-69	5813	2510	3303	2541	1184	1357	3273	1327	1946
70-74	2926	1949	978	1761	900	861	1166	1049	117
75-79	-4849	-1640	-3205	-662	-303	-359	-4148	-1338	-2846
80-84	-1600	-630	-971	-439	-245	-194	-1161	-384	777
85+	2287	670	1617	1369	338	1031	919	332	586

Source: E. Nolan Waller, *Net Migration for Mississippi's Counties 1960-1970*, (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1975), p. 10. Estimates of net migration for an area vary somewhat according to the methodology employed. For similar but slightly different calculation of migration in Mississippi for the total population by age and sex, see R. A. Engles, et. al., *Net Migration in the Southeast 1960-1970*, (Joint publication of Memphis State University and the University of Tennessee, 1973), p. 118.

TABLE 7

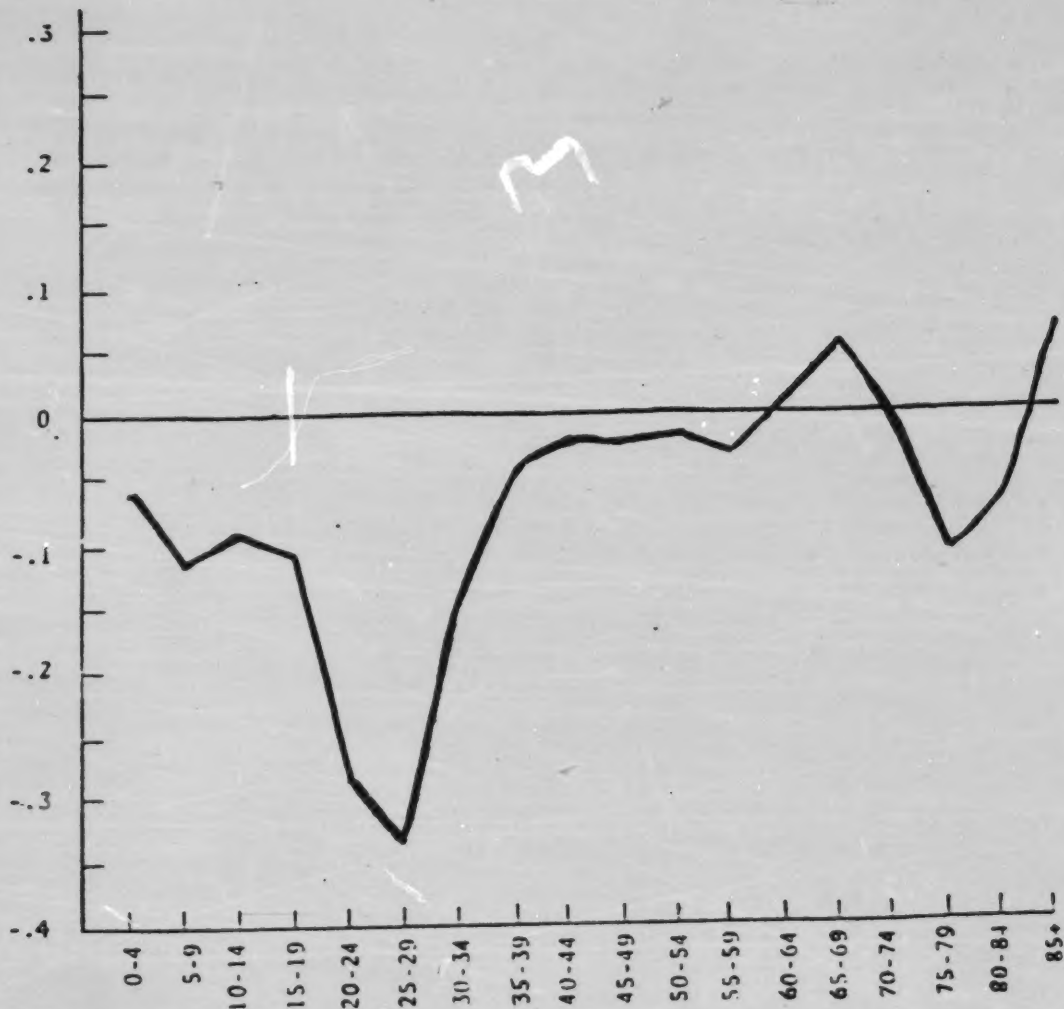
NET MIGRATION, RATE, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

Age 1970	Total	Total Male	Female	Total	White Male	Female	Total	Nonwhite Male	Female
All Ages	-10.5	-11.1	-10.0	0.7	0.3	1.0	-24.7	-25.8	-23.6
0- 4	-8.8	-8.9	-8.6	-1.4	-1.3	-1.5	-16.0	-16.5	-15.4
5- 9	-14.4	-14.8	-13.9	-1.0	-1.8	-0.1	-26.2	-26.6	-25.8
10-14	-8.5	-9.6	-9.6	3.8	4.2	3.4	-19.8	-18.4	-21.1
15-19	-9.7	-9.5	-10.0	5.1	5.8	4.3	-23.8	-24.1	-23.4
20-24	-27.4	-29.8	-24.9	-4.7	-5.6	-3.8	-51.6	-56.0	-47.1
25-29	-33.5	-37.3	-29.3	-14.1	-18.2	-9.6	-57.3	-61.6	-52.9
30-34	-13.0	-15.2	-11.0	1.0	-0.9	2.8	-35.1	-39.7	-31.2
35-39	-3.6	-3.5	-3.7	4.5	4.4	4.6	-19.4	-20.8	-18.2
40-44	-1.1	0.5	-2.5	4.5	5.8	3.4	-12.8	-12.3	-13.3
45-49	-3.2	-1.5	-4.7	1.8	2.9	0.9	-13.8	-11.9	-15.2
50-54	-1.2	1.0	-3.1	3.1	4.2	2.1	-9.8	-6.1	-12.6
55-59	-2.6	-0.9	-4.0	2.3	3.1	1.5	-11.5	-8.8	-13.7
60-64	4.0	5.2	3.0	6.2	7.0	5.4	-0.1	1.7	-1.6
65-69	7.5	7.2	7.8	5.2	5.4	5.0	11.8	10.5	12.9
70-74	5.3	8.2	3.1	4.8	5.8	4.1	6.1	12.6	1.1
75-79	-10.8	-8.8	-12.2	-2.4	-2.8	-2.2	-23.6	-17.4	-28.4
80-84	-6.3	-6.2	-6.4	-2.7	-3.9	-2.0	-12.8	-9.9	-15.0
85+	15.2	11.1	17.9	15.0	9.8	18.1	15.6	12.9	17.6

Source: Same as Table 6.

FIGURE 1

NET MIGRATION RATE, BY AGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970



Source: Adapted from Engles, Net Migration in the Southeast 1960-1970.

Out-migrants may be unqualified for jobs in the expanding sectors within the State, while in-migrants may be retiring here due to a relatively "low cost of living or they may be disillusioned out-migrants of previous years.²³

Colberg suggests that "human capital" has been entering the South, while labor has been leaving, as explanation for the two way migration. That is, the in-migration is over balanced in terms of professional,

technical, managerial and proprietary personnel while there is a net out-migration of persons at the other end of the occupational ladder. The two stream movement is also balanced in favor of a surplus of white and a net deficit of black migrants.

Colberg noted that while several federal laws have been unfavorable to the kind of economic development which would promote the unemployment of ordinary labor in the South,²⁵ federal activity in the field of space exploration has been highly favorable to the in-movement of well trained personnel into the region. Federal minimum wage legislation, which Colberg feels has received its primary support from interests who have sought to reduce competition from southern labor surplus areas, and other hindrances,²⁶ which have interfered with the price system, are said to have compounded the unemployment problem among displaced workers, particularly blacks, and thus to have fostered wholesale out-migration.

POPULATION COMPOSITION

Migration, as well as fertility behavior, alters the composition of the population of areas. Such demographic features of the population as the racial and age composition are of basic concern to persons concerned with social welfare, economic projections, and, in fact, any area of social and physical planning.²⁷ The final section of this chapter looks at the racial, age, and sex composition of the population.

Racial Composition of Mississippi's Population

In 1900 the nonwhite population of Mississippi exceeded the white population by nearly 270,000 persons. In 1940 the population ratio was nearly even, with the State having a slightly larger white population (Table 8). The Mississippi population in 1970 was 63% white and 37% black. The nation as a whole was about 88.5% white. The urban population in Mississippi has a larger component of white population than does rural Mississippi. This difference is at least in part the reflection of a tendency for rural blacks to move to cities outside of the South, and is doubtless due to some extent to the fact that in-migrants to Mississippi are more likely to settle in urban areas.²⁸

Mississippi's white population increased by some 135,000 persons during the decade of the 1960s. Approximately 126,000 of this increase can be attributed to natural increase and circa 9,000 to in-migration. The net in-migration of white population during the 1960s was the first time this has occurred in this century.²⁹

The nonwhite population, as previously noted, continued the pattern of heavy out-migration. The migration loss of nonwhite population during the 1960s was 277,000. There was a net loss of about 100,000. The natural increase of the nonwhite population (180,000) was actually greater than the white natural increase, though the overall nonwhite population showed a net decrease of nearly 100,000 persons.

Table 6

PERCENT OF POPULATION WHITE AND NEGRO, UNITED STATES AND
MISSISSIPPI, 1890 - 1970

Year	United States				Mississippi			
	Total		Urban		Total		Urban	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1890	87.5	11.9	--	--	42.2	57.8	51.08	48.9*
1900	87.9	11.6	93.1	6.6	41.3	58.5	52.58	47.4*
1910	88.9	10.7	93.4	6.4	43.7	56.2	53.94	46.0
1920	89.7	9.99	93.2	6.6	47.7	52.2	58.89	41.1
1930	89.8	9.7	92.2	7.5	49.7	50.2	60.40	39.5
1940	89.8	9.8	91.3	8.4	50.7	49.2	58.80	41.1
1950	89.5	10.0	89.9	9.7	54.6	45.3	61.65	38.2
1960	88.8	10.6	88.4	11.1	57.7	42.0	64.07	35.8
1970	87.5	11.1	86.2	12.3	62.8	36.8	66.1	33.6

*Includes all nonwhite population.

Source: Original, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Trends in the United States: 1900 to 1960. Technical Paper No. 10, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1946, p. 140; U.S. Bureau of the Census Population, Second Series. Characteristics of the Population: Mississippi. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C. 1942, p. 10; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960 General Population Characteristics, Mississippi. Final Report PC(1)-26B. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1961, p. 26-27; U.S. Bureau of the Census. U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population Part 24, Mississippi, Chapter B. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1952, p. 24-22; U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1970 General Population Characteristics, Mississippi. Advanced Report. PC(V2) 26, p. 3. John N. Burrus, "Urbanization in Mississippi 1890-1970 in R.A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Mississippi, Vol. II (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973), p. 369.

Age Trends

Mississippi's under 5 population decreased by -24.7% and the age 5-14 group decreased by -2.3%. The national birth rate began declining from the post-war "baby boom" in 1957. The large increase in persons 15-24 reflects the high fertility levels in the decade after the war. Although complicated by migration, the slight decline in the population

age 25-44 coincides with the decrease in the birth rates in the 1930s.

TABLE 9
POPULATION BY AGE BRACKET, AND PERCENT AGE CHANGE FROM 1960
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Age Group	Total 1970	Percent Change 1960-1970
Under 5	209,606	-24.7
5-14	409,199	-2.3
15-24	409,303	+22.6
25-44	466,243	-1.8
45-64	422,241	+5.2
65+	222,320	+17.0

Source: Kenneth W. Hollman, Mississippi's Population (1960-1970): General Characteristics, (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1971), p. 4.

Another distinctive shift has occurred in the population age 65 and over. In fact, there were increases during the sixties for each age category above 55 (Figure 2). Between 1900 and 1970 the aged population of Mississippi increased from 45,000 to 222,320 persons, from 2% to 10.1% of the population. Thus, in 1970, one in ten Mississippians was age 65 or beyond (Table 10). This segment of the population burgeoned by some 17% during the 1960s (Table 9). This age 60-64 cohort swelled by almost 29% during this time (Figure 2). This increase is the result of the combined interaction of historical differentials in the birth rate, migration, and improved chances of members of a cohort surviving into the older age categories.³⁰

There are several economic and social implications to the age trends of the population. Redistribution aside, the increase in the proportion of the aged in the population will not likely be as rapid until the next century when the surplus population of the post war era enters the advanced age brackets. As the cohort born in the thirties, which was small relatively to those born in the late forties and early fifties, enters the advanced age category, the proportional increase in the population should be retarded. If current birth rates remain salubriously low or, hopefully, continue to decline toward overall population stability or even a decrease in population, the proportion of aged persons may be expected to move upward.

It is generally assumed that "increase in the number of aged persons intensifies the problems that Mississippi faces in caring for the financial, medical, and housing needs of its senior citizens."³¹ There is little doubt that large numbers of aged persons present problems for themselves and the society in which they inhabit.³² However,

this could be more than offset if the current fertility trends are not countered by increased childbearing in the future. Considerable challenge, both philosophical and aesthetic, might be entered to this tendency to view population growth per se as desirable while viewing increased numbers and proportions of the aged as problematic.

For one thing, viewing the older population as chronically ill and in need of housing, support services, and other accouterments of welfare is severely misleading in the sense of seeing only the negative similarities of a group which is actually more heterogeneous than are younger groups. Many of the aged are healthy, wealthy from a lifetime of accumulation in an optimistic economic environment, and thoroughly independent. To a large extent problems of the aged may be viewed in the following perspective:

1. The presence of large numbers of the aged in the population is not necessarily problematic, socially, economically, or aesthetically.
2. Regardless of how idealistic the adjustment of the aged in terms of personal health and autonomy, the process of natural attrition means that eventually many persons will require medical care and support services which are more characteristic of persons in older age groups.
3. Social institutions and social services delivery systems need to be structured to provide for the needs of all persons who are disabled from self-sufficiency and who are dependent, regardless of age.
4. Some of the welfare problems associated with age are not so much decrements due to the aging process as they are to disabilities which have always been characteristic of the person, or to a social milieu which discriminates against the aged.
5. Many problems of the aged may be due to faulty social organization which has affected the individual throughout life, such as an economic structure in which the individual grows old in poverty or which through changes in the price structure (inflation), or through failure to provide societal mechanisms to protect the individual from catastrophic illness or dependency, make the aged particularly susceptible to the threat of poverty.

Attitudes Toward Age And Aging

Thus while it is true that the aged as a group may have a higher collective incidence of medical need, the problems presented by the aged are not independent of the societal structure which to a large degree gives built-in features to the problems associated with the aging process. As previously noted, the aged as a group are more dissimilar than are younger cohorts. To classify the aged as a group in pejorative terms is both misleading and a reflection of the tendency to evaluate the aged and aging with negative stereotypes. Situations which are viewed

FIGURE 2

POPULATION BY AGE, AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE
MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

81	66	75+	+23.5
59	52	70-74	+12.1
83	72	65-69	+14.6
98	76	60-64	+28.6
105	96	55-59	+9.3
108	110	50-54	-1.7
112	20	45-49	-6.8
115	117	40-44	-2.1
109	121	35-39	-10.4
114	120	30-34	-4.9
128	116	25-29	+10.7
173	135	20-24	+28.5
233	197	15-19	+18.4
252	242	10-14	+4.4
236	260	5-9	-8.6
210	278	0-4	-24.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970
General Population Characteristics, PC(1)-B26, Mississippi,
p. 26-37.

as "problems of aging" may in reality be the problems that are cumulative in nature and are more the result of the way in which society is organized than they are indigenous to the state of being aged. Solution of other societal problems would eliminate many of those problems which may become visible with age (such as economic dependence), while solution of other problems which are problems of the social structure at large (such as access to and financing of medical care for the civilian hoipolloi) would reduce the compounding of inadequacies of those aspect of the social structure. The gravamen of this opinion is that to place the problems to which increased age may give increased visibility or even increased incidence, on the presence of the aged and aging, or on the state of aging itself, deflects attention from the true sources which may be a

cumulative creation or product of the way society is organized, not an intrinsic or an evitable part of aging per se.

TABLE 10
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AGE 65 AND OVER
MISSISSIPPI, 1900-1970

	Number	Percent
1900	45,000	2.0
1930	77,000	3.7
1940	115,418	5.3
1950	152,964	7.0
1960	190,000	8.7
1970	222,320	10.1

Source: Wilber, Mississippi Population, p. 6; Marion T. Loftin, Mississippi's Older People (State College: Mississippi AFS Bulletin 599, 1960); U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

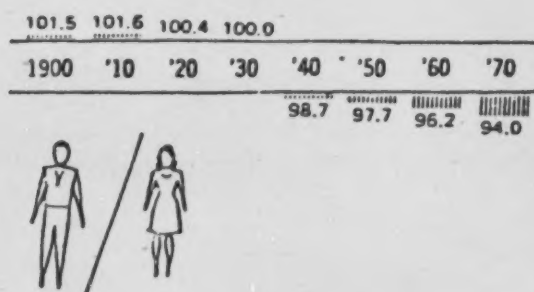
It is suggested that our cultural attitudes toward the aged and aging are reflected in the tendency to conceptualize their increased presence as problematic beyond the mere logistical demands which may be more characteristic of the aged than of other groups.³⁴ This tendency toward insensitivity to the aged is very frequently exhibited in fears regarding their influence in other areas as well as the economic. Hollman, on the premise that "aging and conservatism go hand-in-hand,"³⁵ advises that "The U.S. and Mississippi could possibly become more conservative as their populations become older, and as the aged have a larger electoral voice," and that "Mississippi could be entering a phase in history when the traditional conservative attitude of the aged overwhelms the vaunted progressivism... with a stagnant attitude so often associated with the elderly."³⁶ Aside from the fact that there is no linear relationship between aging and conservatism, the body politic might benefit from an infusion of interest and activity by the aged. Butler contends that "one of the remarkable things about older people is their generosity and concern for people other than themselves."³⁷

Impact on the Labor Force

In 1970, Mississippi had 485,000 children between ten and twenty years of age. There were an additional 238 million children age five to nine. It is from this age group that the largest impact on the labor force will be made. About two-thirds of the population age 10-25 at any given time may be expected to be looking for work within the ensuing decade.³⁸ Persons in this age bracket composed 21.9% of Mississippi's population in 1970, which was the highest of any Southern state. The

FIGURE 3

SEX RATIO, MISSISSIPPI, 1970



Source: Same as Figure 2.

population age 55-59 in Mississippi totaled 105,000. The rough estimate of needed jobs for the 1970s was well in excess of 300,000. According to Hammon the alternative is to "develop new jobs at a faster rate than heretofore or face the spectre of severe unemployment, increased welfare rolls, and mass out-migration..."³⁹

Sex Ratio

The sex ratio is the number of males per 100 females. Mississippi's sex ratio, which stood at 100 in 1930, had declined to 94.0 by 1970 (Figure 3). The sex ratio is approximately 106 at birth and declines with progressive increases in age. For example, for age 65 and over the 1970 sex ratio in Mississippi was 62.9. Within older age brackets the sex ratio may highlight major welfare problems, such as poverty (which is highest among aged persons living alone), or a need for assistance in transportation, or even basic human interaction. The problem of aged women without husbands is reflected in the sex ratio since men tend to marry younger women, but male life expectancy is somewhat less than that of females.

SUMMARY

In this century Mississippi has changed from one-crop economy dominated by cotton to diversified agricultural, manufacturing, and service economy. The percentage of urban population is increasing relative to rural population, and the percentage of white population is

increasing relative to blacks. Long an area of extensive out-migration, in the 1960s, for the first time, Mississippi became a net receiving area for white migration, but continued to be characterized by a heavy out-migration of blacks. The proportion of aged population is increasing, while sex ratio is decreasing. All of these changes have fundamental implications for planning to meet the needs of Mississippi's future development.

1. Which perhaps seemed less ancient in Mississippi than anywhere else.
2. Charles R. Boland, The Impossible Era: The South Since World War II, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975).
3. John R. Skates, "Modern Period," in Ralph D. Cross, et al., (eds.) Atlas of Mississippi, (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974) p. 49; Skates, "World War II and Its Effects 1940-1948," in R.A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Mississippi, Vol. II (Hattiesburg: University & College Press of Mississippi, 1973), pp. 120-139.
4. Ralph D. Cross, "Introduction," Atlas of Mississippi, p. 1.
5. Perhaps indicative of this uniqueness has been the popularity of Mississippi among literators for travel accounts, reminiscences, and anecdotes both by indigenous absconding and itinerant authors, evidencing an interest in a market for descriptive and critical Mississippiana. A similar fascination for the State has been displayed by scholars who have made forays into the State to report its customs, culture, and style of life in community studies such as those of Natchez and Indianola by Dollard, Davis, and Powdermaker circa 1940. Through it all has been the notion that to have been or have lived in Mississippi has been to partake of something sufficiently distinct to make it sufficiently notable to record and distribute, albeit the image has been uniformly derogatory and unfavorable as viewed from the rurality, ostentatious Biblicality, quaintness, backwardness, racial duality, belligerency, rascality, and provincialism (ranging from beliefs about governmental functions and organization to homogeneous population characteristics) and the persistence of themes, patterns, and institutional practices which the national experience had by passed decades earlier has made Mississippiana reportable and thus of intense concern, focus, curia, and clouded image to the outside world.
6. J.E. Fortenberry, Cleavage in Mississippi Politics Since 1974, (Oxford: University of Mississippi, Bureau of Governmental Research 1966).
7. David B. Ogle, Strengthening the Mississippi Legislature, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1971), p. 4.
8. Robert Highsaw and C.N. Fortenberry, The Governmental and Administration of Mississippi, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954), p. 11
9. Skates, Atlas of Mississippi, p. 49.
10. Cross, p. 1.
11. Ellen S. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," Mississippi Farm Research, 12 (December, 1971), p. 4.
12. John N. Burrus, "Urbanization in Mississippi 1890-1970," in a History of Mississippi, pp. 346-372.

13. For example, the Hinds County population decreased slightly (-0.6%) between 1970 and 1974, although the Jackson SMSA increased by 2.7% in this time due to an 18.7% increase of population in Rankin County. This likely represents an increased centralization of residents in the metropolitan area (the estimated net migration rate for Rankin County in this period was 28.9) coupled with an out-movement of residents from the Jackson central city area.
14. Fortenberry and Abney have observed that industrialization "brought such prosperity to the small farmers in the hills" it has resulted in attitudinal changes which are near reversals of the Populist orientations of past generations. Among the changes resulting from the desire for a better economic way of life through industry payrolls they cite are support for anti-union and other attitudes favorable for meeting industry's demands. Op. cit., 518-519. Not the least of the behavioral changes resulting from the desire for economic prosperity through growth was its effect on official attitudes on racial issues. Fortenberry and Abney, pp. 518-519. Repeal of the laws restricting land-holding by large corporations is another example of reversal of the anti-industrialist conviction of the State's political leaders in the Populist era. Rogers notes that nature and conservation practices could to a degree remedy forest depletion and declining land productivity, but

...What could not be easily changed was the grinding poverty of marginal agriculture and of low-paying jobs. The waste in human resources was the real tragedy. Having once discovered that industrial payrolls spent well, many Mississippians clamored for more... That spark has been fanned into flames in recent years, bolstered by the new research methods and techniques of modern society.

Ralph J. Rogers, "The Effort to Industrialize," in A History of Mississippi, p. 249.

15. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970, (State University: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), p. 14.
16. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," p. 5.
17. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Estimates of the Population of Mississippi Counties and Metropolitan Areas: July 1, 1973 and 1974," Series P-26, No. 131 (August, 1975).
18. Rose Rubin, "Urbanization In Mississippi," Mississippi Business Review, (March, 1975).
19. Apparent in the sense that statements suggesting the wisdom of a moratorium on population and economic growth has been heard in the public arena. The boomer expansionist philosophy that equated growth, in rather than out-migration, urbanization, and

industrialization as inherently desirable and regarded questioning of the expansionist philosophy as anti-progressive if not obscenely heretical has been the dominant voice among business interest and official circles since at least the decline of the populist movement. However, such views have always been held in certain traditions. Notable in this regard are the decentralization and self-sufficient communal movements as advocated by Ralph Borsodi and among the Fugitive Agrarians, prominent in literary circles in the late 1920s and 1930s. For a review of this tradition, see the section "The Revival of Agrarianism," by Clarence H. Danhof, "Four Decades of Thought on the South's Economic Problems," in Melvin Greenhut and W. Whitman (eds.). Essays in Economic Development (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 12-14.

20. Burrus, p. 365.
21. For discussion of the contradictions in programs and policies as they affect rural-urban migration see Donald Schon, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USGPO, 1968), pp. 367-287.
22. R.A. Engels, et. al., Net Migration in the Southeast 1960-1970, (Memphis & Knoxville: Memphis State University and the University of Tennessee, 1973), p. 1.
23. Larry A. Szaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy, (October, 1961), p. 82.
24. In assessing the regional allocation of human capital Colberg considers elementary education a component of labor, and high school and subsequent education a component of human capital. Marshall Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 24.
25. However, as Colberg points out, Northern cities themselves have borne much of the ultimate burden of unemployment among poorly-educated migrants from the South. Human Capital, p. 124.
26. One example is the "anti-pirating" provisions of the area redevelopment and Small Business Administration Acts designed to prevent movement of a plant from a prosperous to a truly depressed area. Another is the SBA distressed areas program which allows loans at discriminating interest rates to firms located in "areas of substantial unemployment. Since these areas are generally in the North and West, low income rural areas in the South do not have a similar influence in securing preferential SBA rates. To say the least," according to Colberg, "various federal laws which affect economic development are frequently inconsistent and partially self-defeating." Ibid., pp. 117, 124.
27. Kenneth W. Hollman, Mississippi's Population, (1960-1970): General Characteristics, (Oxford: University of Mississippi, 1971), p. 2.

28. Calvin L. Beale, "Rural-Urban Migration of Blacks: Past and Future," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 53 (May, 1971), p. 303.
29. Ellen S. Bryant, Net Migration in Mississippi, 1950 to 1960 (State College: Mississippi AES, 1961), pp. 5, 9; George L. Wilber, Mississippi Population, (Paper prepared for Special Committee on Economic Blueprint, Mississippi Economic Council, 1962), pp. 1-3.
30. The fact that persons age 60+ in 1970 were born in a period of comparatively high birthrates to those age circa 30-40 would tend to increase the aging pattern of the population, migration aside, while the high birthrates subsequent to World War II would tend to retard aging. Concentration of out-movement in the young adult categories would tend to promote aging in the area of origin. Since increased longevity has occurred primarily among younger age groups, particularly through the control of infectious diseases of childhood, the effect of mortality has increased the number of aged persons, but has probably had an indeterminate effect on the proportion of the aged.
31. Hollman, Mississippi Population, p. 24.
32. Certainly, there is a context in which the aged may present a particular problem, such as large numbers of persons on retirement. Here again, however, much of this may be due to an artifact of societal making, such as the decreasing proportion of workers paying increased social security taxes to an increasing proportion of recipients which has been officially marketed as "insurance" even though it operates as a pass-through program paid for by current production.
33. After all the preventable disease is prevented, the problems of unpreventable disease, disability, and chronic illness remain. However, the social structure should be organized so as to deal with these needs in maximally efficient fashion and not compound the pathologies.
34. For example, simultaneous with the tendency to automatically view the presence of increased numbers of aged persons as undesirable has been the tendency to conceptualize the out-migration of young people as undesirable. There is little tendency to think in terms of the benefit of the out-migration (which has proportionately reduced problems of congestion, demands for attendant public services, has probably helped keep prices lower by reducing demand, and has likely contributed to increases in the State's per capita income to the extent that out-migration has been selective of the marginally productive, all of which might combine to suggest that out-migration has hardly been problematic at all). Furthermore, from a crass economic perspective, the aged consume goods and services, all of which create a demand for providers, the same as any other group.
35. Hollman, Mississippi's Population, p. 28.
36. Ibid., Butler has pointed out that words, expressions, and concepts, are used without forethought in conveying impressions of the presence and status of the aged which would no longer be tolerated if applied

to ethnic minority groups. Robert N. Butler, "Society's Responsibilities to the Elderly," Hearing Before the Select Committee on Aging, House of Representatives (November 11, 1975) p. 10.

37. Butler, p. 4.
38. Ross W. Hammon, Economic Development Trends in the 16-State South, (Atlanta: Engineering Experiment Station, Industrial Development Division, Georgia Institute of Technology, 1972), p. 17.
39. Ibid., p. 18. Here again, the caveat would seem to be in order that mass out-migration is a solution rather than a problem from a welfare perspective for the area of departure as well as for the individual beneficiary. Possibly the ideal, as expressed by Moses, would be economic conditions under which individuals would have a free choice between migrating or remaining at home and working at lower rates of pay. John Moses, Local Subsidies for Industry, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

CHAPTER 4

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

Poverty is plural. The poor are not a single class with an homogenous set of interests and characteristics except in deficiency of income. They consist of a great many groups with divergent tastes and needs. Statistics at best can only delineate the bare parameters of poverty. However, isolation of categories of the population who are most severely afflicted by poverty has major implications for the allocation of anti-poverty resources.¹ If a State is to design programs which are effective anti-poverty efforts it must have a clear idea of the categories of poor people toward whom its programs are to be targeted.

The South contained almost one-half of the nation's poor in 1969 as measured by the SSA poverty thresholds. Some two-fifths of the poor were children under 18, two-thirds were white, and one-fifth were over 65. The State with the largest number of poor families was Texas (413,000 or 14.6%), while the State with the largest frequency of incidence of poverty was Mississippi (28.9% or 154,000 families).

Table 1 shows the proportion of families living in Mississippi and the United States in 1970 with reported incomes below the poverty level. Family poverty in the United States decreased from 18.4% to 10.7% between 1959 and 1969. The proportion of families in poverty in Mississippi decreased from nearly one-half in 1959, a decrease of 86,000 families.

TABLE 1

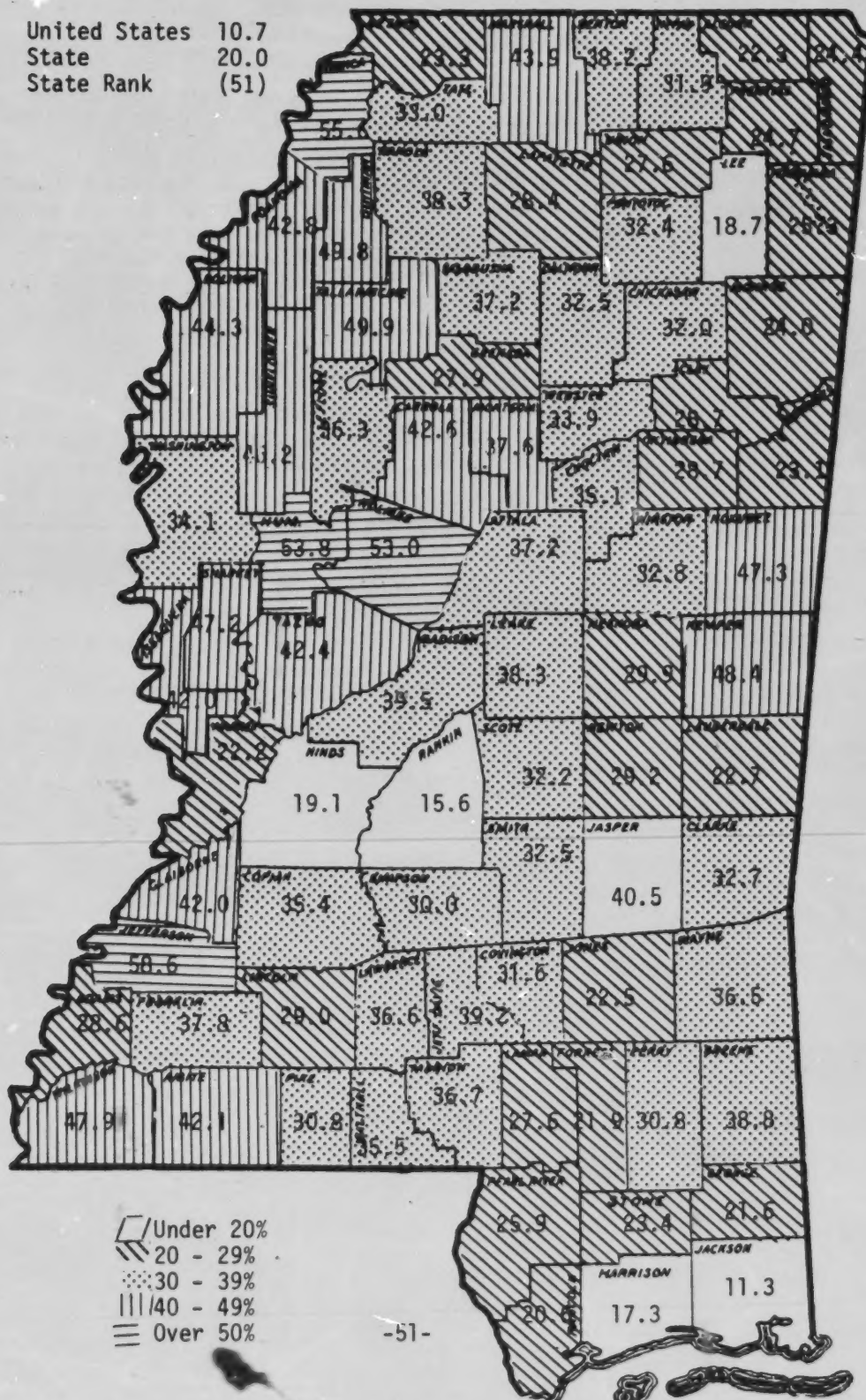
FAMILIES WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1959 AND 1969

	FAMILIES		PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	
	1959	1969	PERSONS	PERSONS
			1959	1969
United States	18.4	10.7	22.1	13.7
Mississippi	47.9	28.9	54.5	35.4

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, p. 400.

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES UNDER THE POVERTY LEVEL
1969, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

United States	10.7
State	20.0
State Rank	(51)



GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

County Distribution of Family Poverty

Figure 1 shows the frequency of incidence of poverty among Mississippi families by county. No county in Mississippi had a frequency of incidence of poverty that was under the national figure (10.7%). The proportion of the population in poverty was less than 20% in only five counties. In four Mississippi counties over one-half of the families had incomes under the poverty level.

Table 2 shows the proportion of poor families residing in Mississippi in 1970 according to residential distribution. The frequency of the incidence of family poverty was considerably higher for rural Mississippians (35.1%) than for their urban counterparts (21.2%). The rural population contained 55% of all income families but 67% of the poor families. The urban population contained 45% of the State's families of all income levels, but only one-third of the poor families. Thus, rural Mississippi contained the largest number as well as the largest proportion of the State's poor.

TABLE 2

FAMILIES LIVING IN POVERTY, 1969, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA DISTRIBUTION,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Residence	Poverty Families in Specified Geographic Area %	Percent all Families in State in Specified Areas	Percent of Total Poverty Families	Index of Difference
State	28.9	100%	100%	--
Urban ¹				
Total	21.2	44.9	33.1	-11.8
Urbanized Areas ²				
Total	16.0	14.5	8.2	-6.3
Central Cities	17.1	10.9	6.7	-4.2
Suburbs	12.5	3.6	1.5	-2.1
Urban Places				
2,500-10,000	24.8	10.7	9.2	-1.5
Above 10,000	23.2	19.8	15.9	-3.9
Rural				
Total	35.1	55.1	66.9	+11.8
Non-farm	35.0	43.0	52.2	+9.2
Farm	35.3	12.1	14.8	+2.7

TABLE 2 (cont'd.)

¹Population in places of 2,500 or more. Column 1 percentages refer to total urban families, etc.

²Municipalities of 50,000 plus densely settled surrounding territory. Central cities refers to the legal boundaries of the central municipality; suburbs to the closely settled surrounding area.

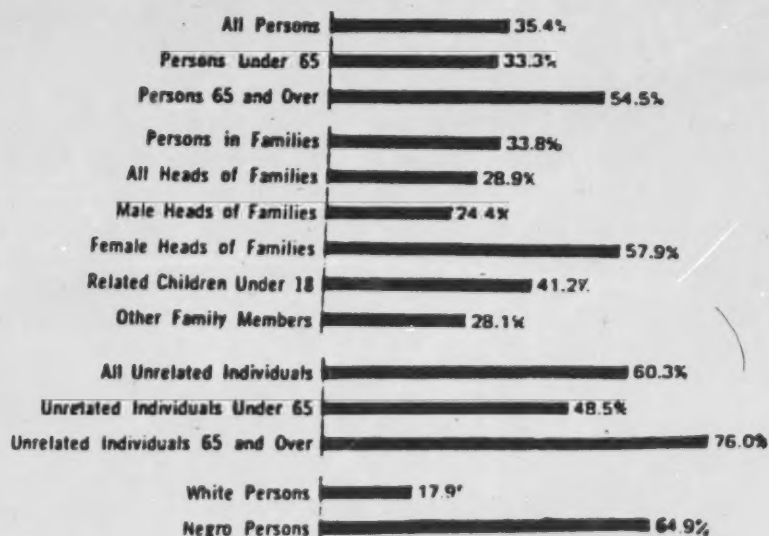
Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970 "General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi," Table 69.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOR

Figure 2 shows the distribution of persons in Mississippi in 1970 reporting 1969 incomes below the poverty level by selected demographic characteristics. Some 35% of all Mississippians were on the poverty roster. One out of every three persons under age 65 was poor, while over one-half (54.5%) of the Mississippians 65 and over were poor.

FIGURE 2

PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL IN 1969 PERCENT OF SELECTED POPULATION GROUPS



Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Unrelated individuals were more likely to be in poverty than were persons in families. Nearly half (48.5%) of the unrelated Mississippians under 65 lived in poverty, while over three-fourths of those 65 and over were poor. Of those persons living in families, female heads (57.9%) and related children under 18 (41.2%) had the highest frequencies of poverty. Some 65% of Mississippi's blacks were poor, compared to 18% of the white population.

Further information on ethnicity and poverty in Mississippi is shown in Table 3. Of all poor persons in families in Mississippi in 1970, nearly 71% were black, and 29% were white. The comparative incidence of poverty was nearly two-thirds for nonwhites, and a little over one-third for whites.

TABLE 3

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND PERCENT INCIDENCE, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	681,754	100.0%	33.5
White	200,249	29.4	36.1
Nonwhite*	481,505	70.6	63.6

* Includes nonwhites other than Negroes.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Approximately one-half of the families in Mississippi in 1970 whose head was 65 years of age or older reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level (Table 4). This compares with 16% of such families in the nation as a whole.³ The proportion of aged poor in Mississippi varies considerably by race and living arrangement. While 37.3% of the white families with an aged head lived in poverty, this was true for 69.8% of the black families.

The relationship between age and poverty is further explored in Table 5. The frequency of incidence of poverty for persons in families whose head was age 65 or over was twice the frequency of incidence of poverty for females whose head was age 25-64.

As may be seen in Table 6, the frequency of the incidence of poverty among aged persons was particularly severe for unrelated aged persons. The frequency of incidence of poverty among aged persons was

TABLE 4

POVERTY STATUS OF FAMILIES WITH HEADS AGE 65 OR ABOVE, BY RACE,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	ALL FAMILIES		FAMILY HEAD AGE 65 OR ABOVE	
	NO.	%	FAMILIES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL NO.	%
Total	87,648	16.4	43,345	49.5
White	54,637	14.6	20,357	37.3
Black	32,927	20.7	22,972	69.8

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970, "General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi," pp. 26-168.

TABLE 5

PERCENT FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVELS,
BY AGE OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	AGE OF HEAD		
		UNDER 25	26-64	65 OR OVER
Total	29%	25	25.%	50.0
White	16	15	12	37
Black	59	53	57	70

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970. "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi," PC(1)-D26, Table 207.

at least 30% regardless of residential distribution. For each category of aged persons, the proportion with incomes below the poverty level was greater for the rural farm and nonfarm than it was for the urban population.

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF PERSONS AGE 65 AND OVER WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW
POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
All Family Members	46.8	33.9	57.5	44.8
Family Heads	49.7	37.0	60.0	47.4
Other Than Heads	43.3	30.2	54.4	41.7
Unrelated Persons	76.1	68.7	84.7	74.4
Unrelated Males	73.8	66.0	80.9	70.5
Unrelated Females	77.0	69.4	86.2	77.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 37% of urban family heads age 65 or over had incomes below the poverty level; 30.2% of urban aged persons other than family heads lived in families with incomes below the poverty level.

RATIO TO POVERTY THRESHOLDS

Discussion of the income reported by each family divided by the corresponding applicable poverty threshold figure gives the ratio of family income to poverty threshold.⁴ Table 7 shows the proportion of family members with incomes for specified poverty ratios by residence and ethnicity.

In terms of ethnicity, blacks are shown to fare much worse than whites. Some 31% of the members of black families in Mississippi in 1970 lived in families with reported incomes of less than one-half of the poverty threshold. The proportion of black family members exceeds the proportion of their white counterparts at each category from the lowest rate through the near-poor (income of from 1.00% to 1.24% of the threshold) categories. Proportions are equal for 1.25 to 1.49 ratio. At each category above 1.45 the proportion of whites exceeds blacks by progressively increasing amounts.

In terms of residential distribution, the highest number of extreme poor (ratio under .50) is found among the rural farm population (20.1%). In terms of absolute numbers, however, the rural nonfarm population has the largest block of extreme poor (173,341), compared to 88,007 extreme poor urban residents (10.0%) and 40,937

TABLE 7

PERCENT OF FAMILY MEMBERS WITH INCOMES BY SPECIFIED RATIO TO
POVERTY LEVELS, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RATIO	TOTAL		WHITE	BLACK	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
Under .50	14.9	5.5		30.7	10.0	18.2	20.1
.50 to .74	10.0	4.7		19.1	7.4	12.0	12.0
.75 to .99	8.6	5.5		13.8	7.3	9.6	9.8
1.00 to 1.24	8.2	6.6		10.8	7.2	9.1	7.6
1.25 to 1.49	7.2	7.3		27.3	7.0	7.7	6.5
1.50 to 1.99	12.9	15.4		8.7	13.3	12.3	11.3
2.00 to 2.99	18.4	25.6		6.3	20.9	16.9	14.7
3.00 or More	19.6	29.3		3.2	26.8	13.3	17.9

Column Totals Circa 100%

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970,
"Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi," PC (1)-D26,
Table 207.

extreme poor rural farm family members (Appendix Table 16).

Table 8 looks at the proportion of poverty family members with specified ratios of income to the poverty threshold. At least forty percent of all members of the poor families living in Mississippi in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below .50 of the poverty threshold for all categories specified in Table 8 except the white poor. The white population had the largest proportion who were the closest to being nonpoor (35.4%) according to the poverty thresholds. This would indicate that not only was the incidence of poverty itself much greater among blacks, but that the severity was greater also.

TABLE 8

RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY THRESHOLD FOR MEMBERS OF POVERTY
FAMILIES, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

ALL FAMILY MEMBERS	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		UNDER .50	.50 to .74	.74 TO .99
State	33.5	44.3	29.9	25.8
White	15.7	35.0	29.6	35.4
Black	63.6	48.2	30.0	21.7

TABLE 8 (cont'd.)

ALL FAMILY MEMBERS	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		UNDER .50	.50 to .74	.74 TO .99
Urban	24.7	40.6	29.8	29.8
Black	53.2	42.5	30.7	26.7
Rural Nonfarm	39.9	45.6	30.3	24.1
Black	70.5	50.9	29.8	19.3
Rural Farm	41.8	48.1	28.5	23.4
Black	70.2	51.9	28.8	19.3
Jackson SMSA	22.6	43.4	27.7	28.8
Black	49.2	44.6	28.2	27.2

* Percentages refer to total poverty families of applicable race/residence category.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.
 "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi, PC(1)-D26, Table 207.

Similarly, the incidence of extreme poverty in Mississippi was greater among unrelated individuals than among family members (Table 9).

TABLE 9

PERCENT OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY THRESHOLD, MEMBERS OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL		PERCENT WITH INCOMES OF SPECIFIED RATIO TO POVERTY THRESHOLD		
		Under .50	.50 to .74	.79 to .99
Member of Families	33.5	44.3	29.9	25.8
Unrelated Individuals	60.4	36.7	15.7	8.1
Unrelated Males	51.9	31.1	13.5	7.2
Unrelated Females	65.3	39.7	16.9	8.7

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

SUMMARY

Identification of those population categories characterized by greater likelihood of poverty is a necessary ingredient in developing plans to alleviate poverty and the problems associated with it. This chapter has sought to briefly identify the categories of the poor in Mississippi in terms of who they are and the manner in which they are distributed throughout the State.

These data may be summarized as:

1. Mississippi has the largest proportion of poor families and persons of any State in the nation.
2. The frequency of the incidence of poverty in Mississippi is more pronounced among the following groups.

Persons over age 65 than under age 65.

Persons living alone than persons living in families.

Black families than white families.

Female headed than male headed families.

Rural residents than urban residents.

3. Among the poor, the severity of poverty is greater among:

The black poor than the white poor.

Unrelated poor rather than poor who are members of families.

The above information does not provide any insight per se into the causes of poverty nor the steps which must be taken to remedy poverty and the problems of which it is a cause or result. However, if anti-poverty efforts are to be successful, they must deal with the causes and results of poverty among those identified target groups whose frequency of the incidence of poverty makes these problems particularly characteristic of them.

1. John B. Williamson and Kathryn M. Hyer, "The Measurement and Meaning of Poverty," Social Problems 22 (June, 1975), p. 652.
2. Arkansas (22.8%), Louisiana (21.5%) and Alabama (20.7%) were the only other States with more than 20% of the families residing there in 1970 reporting 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Some twenty-seven States had less than 10% of their population so classified.
3. Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie. The Sociology of Social Problems (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 345.
4. For example, the poverty threshold of a nonfarm family of four headed by a male was \$3,197. If such a family had a 1969 income of \$7,490, then the ratio would be 2.0 or have the poverty level. If their income was \$2,000, the ratio would be .53, i.e., the family had an income of slightly more than one-half the poverty level for a family of its residential and household characteristics.

CHAPTER 5

MISSISSIPPI'S INCOME: SOURCES AND MEASUREMENT

The most meaningful dimension of the distribution of material rewards for most people is measured by direct personal or family income.¹ This chapter examines this aspect of Mississippi's welfare in terms of characteristic income measures and in terms of the source of this income.

Students of economic indicators use several measures of income in comparing changes in economic welfare through time and in comparing one area with another. Since measures of income vary in definition, meaning, and indication, a definition of the income measures discussed in this chapter is in order.

Definitions of Income Measures

One way of measuring income is to tally the number or proportion of families or individuals who receive yearly incomes of more or less than specified amounts. The figure of \$3,000, for example, was used to measure poverty in the 1960 census. Unless adjusted to decreased purchasing power of the dollar, real gains in purchasing power over time will be less (unless prices decrease over time) than the absolute gains between periods. Of course, this is also true for any unadjusted measure of income.

Per capita income is the arithmetic mean, i.e., total income divided by the number of persons in an area. Per capita income (PCI) is the sum of wage and salary income, net self-employment income, income from public transfers (i.e., social security or public assistance income) plus other income such as interest, dividends, veteran's emoluments, pensions, alimony, and unemployment collections. The total represents the amount of income received before taxes.²

Total personal income (TPI) is the sum of wage and salary payments, fringe payments (employer pension contributions, social security taxes, and similar payments for indirect compensation not classified as wage or salary disbursements), proprietary income, property income, and transfer payments less personal taxes for social security. TPI is often used to measure economic growth and PCI is generally used to indicate economic well being of individuals.³

PERSONAL AND PER CAPITA INCOME IN MISSISSIPPI

Like other States, Mississippi has experienced a general growth in personal and per capita income. Table 1, which shows personal income in Mississippi 1951 - 1974, shows an increase in the State's total income

of 392% during this time, slightly larger than the national increase (355%) during this period.

TABLE 1
TOTAL PERSONAL INCOME AND PERCENT CHANGE FROM PRIOR YEAR,
MISSISSIPPI, 1951-1974

YEAR	AMOUNT	PERCENT CHANGE FROM PRIOR YEAR
1951	1,796	--
1952	1,907	6.2
1953	1,943	1.9
1954	1,875	-3.5
1955	2,102	12.1
1956	2,141	1.9
1957	2,172	1.4
1958	2,572	9.4
1960	2,632	2.3
1961	2,820	7.1
1962	2,979	5.6
1963	3,291	10.5
1964	3,423	4.0
1965	3,748	9.5
1966	4,128	10.1
1967	4,431	7.3
1968	4,856	8.6
1969	5,244	8.0
1970	5,706	8.8
1971	6,378	11.8
1972	7,188	12.7
1973	8,206	14.2
1974	8,839	7.7

Source: 1951-1970, Guy T. Peden and Gaines M. Rogers, Mississippi Personal Income, (State College: College of Business and Industry, Mississippi State University, 1972), p. 13:
1971-1974, Survey of Current Business, (August, 1975), p. 9.

Possibly the most useful single measure of relative economic welfare in area is per capita income, since this pertains most closely to personal satisfaction in general.⁴ As may be seen in Table 2, per capita income in Mississippi has increased substantially both in absolute amount and in relative proportion to the national per capita. Between 1951 and 1974, Mississippi per capita income increased by an absolute

amount of nearly \$3,000, or more than 350%. National per capita income increased by about \$800 more but by a considerably smaller percentage increase (230%).

TABLE 2

PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME AND ANNUAL CHANGE, AND MISSISSIPPI
PER CAPITA INCOME RELATION TO UNITED STATES PER CAPITA INCOME,
MISSISSIPPI, 1951-1974

Year	Amount	% Change from prior year	Amount	% Change from prior year	Mississippi Relative to United States
1951	\$1,652		\$ 830		50.2%
1952	1,733	4.9	886	6.7	51.1
1953	1,804	4.1	923	4.2	51.2
1954	1,785	-1.1	908	-1.6	50.9
1955	1,876	5.1	1,020	12.3	54.4
1956	1,975	5.3	1,026	.6	51.9
1957	2,045	3.5	1,040	1.4	50.9
1958	2,068	1.1	1,128	8.5	54.5
1959	2,161	4.5	1,203	6.6	55.7
1960	2,216	2.5	1,206	.2	54.4
1961	2,265	2.2	1,278	6.0	56.4
1962	2,370	4.6	1,328	3.9	56.0
1963	2,458	3.7	1,467	10.5	59.7
1964	2,590	5.4	1,528	4.2	59.0
1965	2,770	6.9	1,669	9.2	60.2
1966	2,987	7.8	1,839	10.2	61.6
1967	3,169	6.1	1,989	8.2	62.8
1968	3,436	8.4	2,189	10.1	63.7
1969	3,705	7.8	2,362	7.9	63.7
1970	3,921	5.8	2,575	9.0	65.7
1971	3,921	7.0	2,626	2.0	62.9
1972	4,537	8.5	3,187	17.6	70.2
1973	5,023	10.7	3,542	11.1	70.5
1974	5,448	8.5	3,803	7.4	69.8

Source: Same as Table 1, pp. 17 and 11 respectively.

Figure 1 shows the 1969 per capita income of Mississippi counties by county rank, as well as the counties according to national decile. Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of any State. No county in Mississippi ranked in the top three deciles, while only four counties ranked in the top 50%. Hinds county, which had the highest per capita income in the State, ranked 948th of the 3,141 counties in the nation.

Looking further at the comparative State distribution, only about a dozen Mississippi counties had higher per capita incomes than the State per capita.⁵ Figure 2, which shows the percentage increase in per capita for Mississippi counties 1970-1973, shows that the per capita income in thirteen Mississippi counties increased by 35% or more. In only six counties was there a per capita income increase of less than 25%.

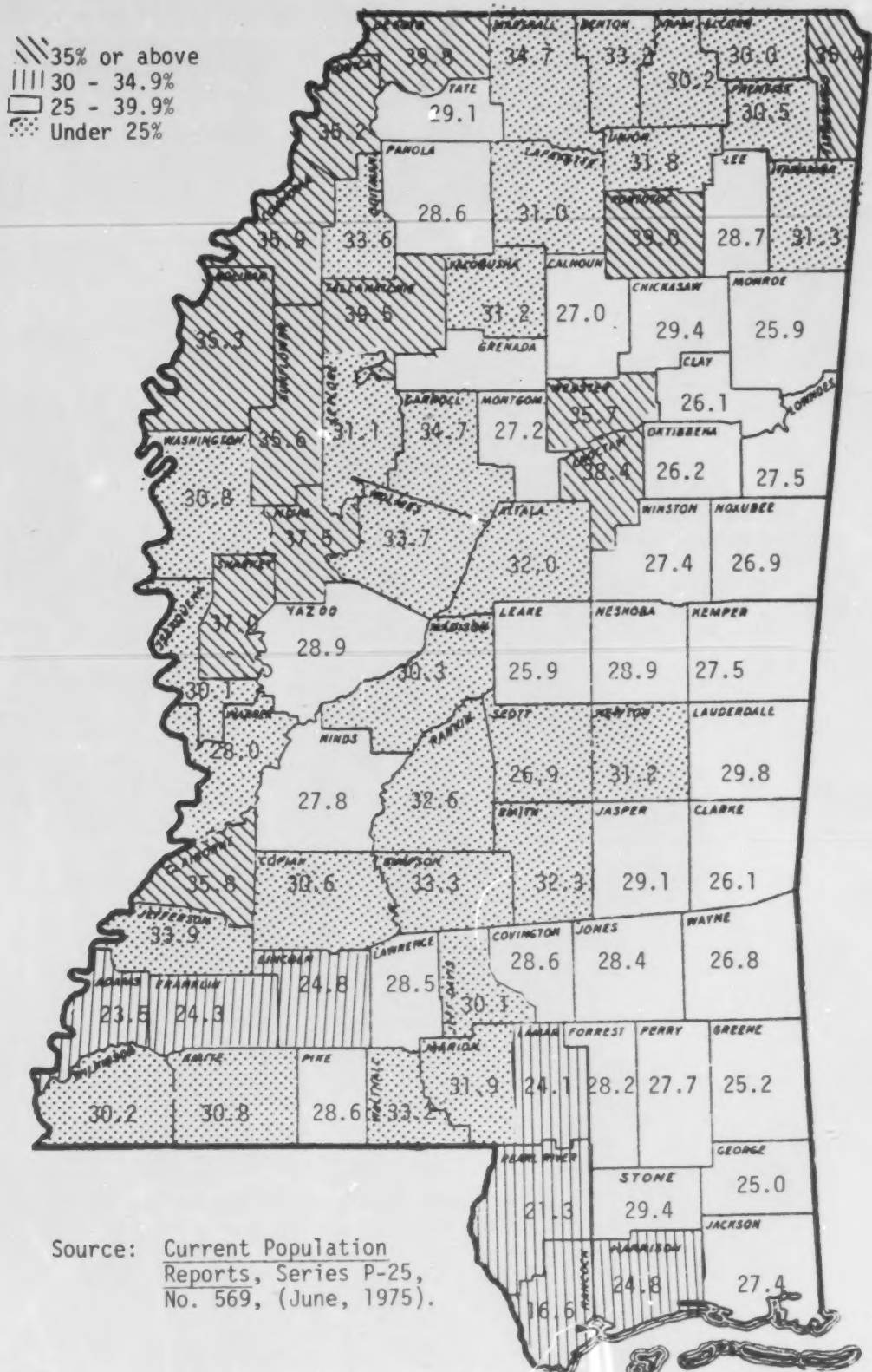
Factors Raising Per Capita Income

Improvement in the ratio of per capita income of one area to another comes primarily from a relative increase in personal income. It may also come from a relative decrease in population, particularly through out-movement of persons of low marginal-value productivity. Migration has been the historic method by which Americans have adjusted to changing economic opportunities. Given the limits of the land available, off-farm migration in Southern states has been essential to maintaining existing per capita income levels. Absence of employment opportunities due to the slow growth of Southern industrial opportunities forced migrants, particularly displaced blacks, to industrial centers outside the region. This out-migration served to mitigate the South's economic problem, but the out-movement has not been adequate to accomplish more than a mild effect. While the poverty of sending areas would have been greatly incremented without the mobility, the volume of out-migrants who could find employment outside the region has never been sufficiently large to result in much comparative improvement in the economy.⁶ Some Southern counties which have been characterized by heavy out-migration for more than a century continue to be characterized by large numbers of low income families.⁷

Aside from the inadequate volume, there are other limitations to out-migration per se as a factor in raising per capita income.⁸ For example, it has been argued that a large part of the South's investment in education and training is lost if the recipients move to other areas upon reaching productive age. As Daniel Price, a sociologist who made an extensive study of the literature on rural migration and poverty as well as conducting primary research on black migrants from Yazoo County, Mississippi to Chicago under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity put it, this "rural to urban migration provides an urban area with additions to the labor force that have cost the urban area nothing to rear and educate."⁹ This has been regarded as a vicious circle of northern subsidization which could be remedied only by industrialization within the South.¹⁰ As early as the 1930s warnings were voiced that Southern States could ill afford the loss of the labor¹¹ and leadership¹² of those most likely to migrate.

To a considerable extent, the "problem of low per capita income in the South is one of low-income for black persons, especially those of rural residents."¹³ High birth rates have helped to lower per capita income. Furthermore, the rate of declining agriculture employment has been greater for blacks than for whites, largely as a result of the

FIGURE 2
PERCENT CHANGE IN PER CAPITA INCOME, 1970-1973



Source: Current Population
Reports, Series P-25,
No. 569, (June, 1975).

concentration of black agricultural workers in cotton.¹⁴

Numerous commentators have cited technological innovation in agriculture as a major source of the Negro's poor economic conditions.¹⁵ Programs operated by the Department of Agriculture have been major factors in this displacement. Such policies of the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service as acreage allotments, marketing quotas, soil bank, and price support programs are cited by Price as in many cases having had the effect of reducing the available agriculture employment and thereby forcing many people into nonfarm employment either with or without migration.¹⁶ Similarly, Schon has estimated that extension of the federal minimum wage law to agricultural workers previously not covered resulted in the displacement of 50,000 people in Mississippi alone during its first year.¹⁷

Price's study for the OEO amassed considerable evidence to show that poor rural-urban South-North migrants constitute a minority of poor persons in northern slums, that welfare costs and social problems of cities are not related to arrivals of recent migrants, that blacks are not unduly represented among migrants to urban areas, and that rural-urban North-South migrants tend to be better off than their rural counterparts. This led Price to the conclusion that "given the total situation... the individuals themselves are better off, the area of out-migration is frequently relieved of 'surplus' population with the result that the remaining individuals are better off, and while the in-migrant may well cost the city government some sort of cash expenditure, if he does not stay in poverty, this will be more than repaid."¹⁸

Impact of Industrial Development

Another form of movement which is instrumental in raising the per capita economic level of a population is that of a vertical migration or movement into higher paying jobs without the requisite of spatial mobility. However, it is important to point out that even the economic welfare of recipients of an area which receives new industry is not necessarily enhanced by the acquisition of high wage industry if the low-income persons in the area are not in position to take advantage of the jobs provided. It is entirely possible to have an increase in per capita income and apparently in the economic health of an area to the extent that increased per capita income is the criterion of measurement without proportionate benefits necessarily flowing to the low income population of the area. This may occur when the beneficiaries of the jobs are in-migrants from other areas.¹⁹

While attraction of high wage industry is often cited as the curative for the economic ills of a depressed area, Colberg has cautioned that this is a dangerous fallacy which neglects the important concept of comparative advantage. Areas with large surpluses of ordinary labor require the types of industry that employ much ordinary labor at rates of pay which will be well below that of industries where skill requirements are high. Thus, Colberg states, "truly labor intensive rather than human capital intensive industry is needed by many communities."²⁰

Impact studies have shown that the amount of jobs created for local people in a rural poverty area depends, among other things, on the skill level demanded by the plant. The corollary of this is that low-wage labor-intensive plants (often condemned for their low pay) have much higher local employment multiplier effects because their labor demand is likely to fit the skill characteristics of the labor supply.²¹

Mississippi has been increasing its per capita income level relative to the national level. However, Mississippi still has the lowest per capita income of any State. Although income is a primary and essential ingredient in the mix of necessities which make for an effective life of an individual, this does not by any means imply that the quality of life is lower in Mississippi than it is elsewhere.

Ultimately the relation between income and quality of life depends on the ratio between income and the cost of obtaining desired amenities. Consequently, where quality of life amenities are at a premium, even significant changes in income may be insufficient to make up the differential. There is a tendency to focus attention on the expected benefits of industrial development without considering its costs. It is important to recognize that measures of economic impact may not reflect benefits to low income individuals. Indeed, it can involve a circulation of wealth with only minimum impact on area labor. Consequently, one must be careful when looking at general trends since they do not necessarily mean that all groups benefit or even that some do not actually experience decrements in their quality of life.

Impact of Migration

Migration is an important element in the adjustment of population to employment opportunity. When high wage industry comes into an area it may raise per capita income through in-movement of persons with specified training, but have little multiplier effect on low skill labor already in the area. If low income population already in an area is the focus of attention, the need in labor surplus areas is the kind of low wage industry which is able to absorb local labor.

Increased per capita income in Mississippi is the result of a combination of factors, including the flow of material and human capital into the State coupled with a heavy out-migration of labor possessing low marginal-value utility. Colberg has pointed out that "although out-migration of low-income families is a direct way of raising per capita income in a region, it is probably a less satisfactory means than the in-migration of capital."²² The non-spatial movement of individuals out of the low productivity category through training or removal of inhibiting barriers is an efficient means of augmenting the flow of human and material capital.²³

SOURCES OF INCOME

Type of Income Source

Table 3 shows the source of 1969 income for all families living in Mississippi in 1970. About 91% of the aggregate family income in 1969 was derived from earnings in wage and salary income and self-employment income. The remainder was derived through Social Security (3.9%), public assistance (1.0%), and other sources (.4.4%).

Social security income includes cash payments made by the Social Security Administration under the national old age, survivors, disability, and health payments transfer programs plus cash outlays by the government under the U.S. Railroad Retirement Act. Medicare payments are not included. Public assistance income includes cash receipt of payments made under the aid to families with dependent children, old-age assistance, general assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled programs previously administered by State welfare departments. Excluded from this calculation are separate payments for hospital or other medical care as well as non-money benefits of direct cash value derived from such social service programs as food stamp plans, commodity distribution, subsidized housing, medicaid, and school lunch programs.

Other income includes earnings from interest, property rentals, dividends, trusts, insurance, roomers or boarders, royalties, alimony, gambling, or private pensions plus such transfer programs as public pensions, unemployment insurance benefits, educational awards, and support for persons participating in special governmental training programs.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF 1969 FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES,
ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES, BY RACE OF HEAD,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

SOURCE	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
Earnings	90.6	68.3	91.4	60.6	86.4	72.5
Social Security	3.9	17.9	3.4	26.1	6.9	13.5
Public Assistance	1.0	9.6	0.4	6.8	4.2	11.1
Other	4.4	4.1	4.8	6.4	2.5	2.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi, (PC (1)) -C26, Table 212.

Table 3 shows that earnings were the most significant source of income for both the white and black population, with the latter receiving

a somewhat larger proportion of total income from sources other than wage, salary, or self-employment income. The importance of transfer payments in maintaining the economic viability of poor families may be seen by comparing the sources of income of Mississippi families with those whose 1969 incomes were below the poverty line. About two-thirds of the income of poor families was derived from earnings (91.3% for whites, 72.5% for blacks). The significance of social security benefits for Mississippi's poor is readily apparent in that 17.9% of the aggregate 1969 income of Mississippi's poor families was derived from social security payments, while 9.6% was derived from public assistance transfers, and 4.1% from other sources.

A major racial difference may be noted contrasting the relative shares of social security and public assistance payments received by different racial categories. Whereas social security payments made up over one-fourth (26.1%) of the cash income of Mississippi's poor white families in 1969, such payments accounted for only about one-half as much as the cash income of poor black families (13.5%).

The original Social Security Act did not cover agricultural or domestic workers, occupational categories in which many aged blacks were employed during their working life. Although the Social Security Act was subsequently changed to cover workers in these occupations, the fact that many aged blacks spent their working life in occupations that were not previously enrolled in the social security program probably accounts for the discrepancy between the proportions of poor white and black persons receiving social security income.²⁴

The decline in the percentage of the nation's aged poor from 24.5% in 1970 to 16.3% in 1973 (Appendix Table 20) has been attributed to increases in social security benefits enacted after 1970. The number of aged poor whites and poor blacks decreased by 32.3% and 10.2% respectively during this time. The decrease in the number of poor aged blacks did not parallel the white decrease, a likely artifact of the traditional employment of blacks in occupations that did not provide for participation in the social security program.²⁵

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING INCOME FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES,
1969 ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

SOURCE	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
Earnings	88.3	68.8	90.0	58.1	84.5	75.6
Social Security	22.8	35.1	20.9	42.1	27.1	30.8
Public Assistance	11.1	27.5	5.2	17.3	24.8	33.9
Other	17.6	9.9	21.5	14.2	8.3	7.1

Source: Same as Table 3.

Table 4 shows the percent of families receiving 1969 income from specified sources. The importance of public transfer programs in the income provision of poor Mississippi families is again illustrated. Over one-third of the State's poor families received cash grants from social security, and over one-fourth from State administered public assistance programs, in 1969. A noticeably large number of poor black families had earned income from salaries and wages.

A larger percentage of black than white income of poor Mississippians in 1969 was derived from earnings (72.5% contrasted with 60.6%). Poor black families also received a larger share of their income from public assistance (11.1% compared to 6.8%). For nonpoor families, earnings and other income accounted for a large proportion of the income of white families, with social security and public assistance transfers accounting for a large share of the income of black families (Table 4.).

Age and Source of Income

Table 5 and 6 shows the percent of aggregate family income derived from specified services, plus the percent of families receiving income from these services for all income levels, by age of family head. Tables 4 and 5 shows the same data for poor families.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF 1969 FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES
BY RACE AND AGE OF FAMILY HEAD, ALL FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	Under 25		25-64		65 and over	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Earnings	97.4	94.9	94.5	91.6	56.2	52.6
Social Security	0.5	1.4	1.5	3.4	24.0	29.4
Public Assistance	0.1	1.7	0.2	2.9	2.3	12.7
Other	2.0	2.0	3.7	2.1	17.5	5.4

Source: Same as Table 3.

The role of earnings as an income source decreased sharply after age 65 for poor and nonpoor families of both races. Earnings, which accounted for over 90% of the aggregate income for under 65 whites and blacks in Mississippi of all income levels, dropped to less than 60% for families whose head was above this age. Social security transfers assumed increasing significance as an income source for families with elderly heads, accounting for nearly two-thirds of the aggregate family income

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING 1969 INCOMES FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES
BY RACE AND AGE OF FAMILY HEAD, ALL FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	Under 25		25-64		65 and Over	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Earnings	94.3	89.5	96.1	91.7	53.3	57.5
Social Security	2.7	6.6	11.3	15.1	81.9	75.7
Public Assistance	1.4	11.6	3.6	19.6	16.3	47.4
Other	13.4	5.7	19.6	7.0	36.1	13.6

Source: Same as Table 3.

for white families with an elderly head and just over two-fifths of the aggregate income of families headed by an elderly black. Over 80% of the white families and nearly 76% of the black families with an elderly head received income from social security in 1969.

It seems clear that whites of retirement age were more advantaged than blacks in being positioned to receive income from other sources such as rent, pensions, and annuities. Over one-third of the families headed by elderly whites, contrasted to only 14% of the families headed by elderly blacks, received income from other sources. Consequently, a far larger proportion of the income of families headed by elderly blacks was derived from earnings through wages and salaries than was the case for white families. At the same time public assistance occupied a greater role among blacks of all age levels.

Federal Outlays in Mississippi

The State total of federal outlays in Mississippi in 1974 was \$3,668,934,000.00, an increase of 52.7% (\$1,267,030,000.00) over 1971. Federal outlays in Mississippi counties ranged from less than ten million in Benton, Webster, Carroll, Choctaw, Issaquena, Kemper, Smith, Claiborne, Franklin, Walthall, Perry, Greene, and George Counties to over a hundred million in Harrison, Jackson, Amite, and Hinds Counties (Figure 3).

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare was the primary funding agency in each county excepting six counties where the Department of Defense (Harrison, Jackson, Lowndes, Lauderdale, Warren, and Tishomingo), five counties where the Department of Agriculture (Sharkey, Issaquena, Sunflower, Tunica, and Quitman) and one county each where the Veterans Administration (Wilkinson) and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (Hancock) were the primary funding agencies.

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Table 7 shows the total federal outlay in Mississippi in 1974 by the expending agency, plus the percent of the national outlay by this agency which was expended in Mississippi. Mississippi, which contains about 1.1% of the total population of the United States, was the recipient of 2.5% of the outlays by Department of Agriculture, 1.9% of the outlays by the Department of Defense, and over 1% of the national outlays by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Farm Credit Administration, and the Department of Commerce.

TABLE 7

TOTAL FEDERAL OUTLAYS IN MISSISSIPPI BY EXPENDING AGENCY AND
PERCENT OF NATIONAL EXPENDITURES MADE IN MISSISSIPPI, 1974

EXPENDING AGENCY	OUTLAY IN STATE DOLLARS (THOUSANDS)	STATE %
Department of Agriculture	322,876	2.5
Department of Commerce	21,126	1.2
Department of Defense	1,348,353	1.9
Department of Health, Education and Welfare	1,265,530	1.3
Department of Housing & Urban Development	8,325	.7
Department of Interior	17,759	.6
Department of Justice	7,777	.6
Department of Labor	35,237	.9
Department of State	43	---
Department of Transportation	64,377	.7
Treasury Department	184,169	.6
ACTION	760	.2
Agency for International Development	2,840	.2
Atomic Energy Commission	95	*
Civil Service Commission	47,757	.3
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	576	1.5
Farm Credit Administration	66	1.3
Federal Home Loan Bank Board	42	.1
General Services Administration	7,711	.3
Interstate Commerce Commission	46	.1
National Aeronautics & Space Administration	14,723	.5
National Foundation on Arts & Humanities	821	.6
National Science Foundation	2,071	.3
Office of Economic Opportunity	6,951	2.0
Postal Service	76,592	.7
Rural Road Retirement	24,945	.9
Selective Service System	687	1.3
Small Business Administration	25,732	3.6
Tennessee Valley Authority	5,362	.4
Veterans Administration	164,972	1.2
Water Resources Council	56	1.3

TABLE 7 (CONTINUATION)

EXPENDING AGENCY	OUTLAY IN STATE DOLLAR (THOUSANDS)	STATE %
Total Federal Outlay State Population Rank	\$ 1,668,934	1.3

* Amount less than .05%

Source: Federal Outlays in Mississippi, Fiscal Year 1974, Compiled for the Executive Office of the President by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

In terms of dollar amounts, the largest outlays were channeled through the Department of Defense (\$1,348,353,000.00) and Health, Education and Welfare (\$1,265,530.00). When federal expenditures within Mississippi are analyzed by function, the largest percentage of national expenditures in Mississippi in 1974 was for elementary and secondary education (9.9% of the national total). Some 3.1% of the national expenditures for farm income stabilization and for research and other agricultural services, were made in Mississippi. In terms of dollar amount expended within the State by function, retirement and disability (\$596,362,000.00), elementary and secondary education (\$356,297,000.00), public assistance (\$275,462,000.00), and gifts to farmers (\$138,567,000), accounted for the largest amounts.

Impact on the Poor

Many of the federal dollars go into programs which either benefit the poor through direct transfers or which support programs which are operated in their behalf. A primary example is the food stamp program, wherein \$77,499,000.00 was expended in Mississippi for the operation of this program, including \$2,420,000.00 in administration and other expenses utilized to run the program.

Many other programs may have some indirect benefit to the poor through their effect on general economic conditions, support of research and demonstration projects, or promotion of socially beneficial activities that might be unfunded otherwise. Furthermore, federal influence activities such as guaranteed insured programs, may have direct or indirect benefit to the poor. An example of a federal influence activity with a direct benefit to the poor in 1974 was the low income housing repair loan program, which involved some \$329,000.00 in Mississippi in fiscal 1974.

The largest federal outlays by function in Mississippi in 1974 were for military prime supply contracts (\$852,142,000.00), social security payments to individuals (\$511,422,000.00), child development-head

start grant outlays (\$303,892,000.00), military active duty pay (\$191,463,000.00), and cotton production stabilization gifts (\$94,145,000.00). Social Security benefit expenditures represent income transfer payment, while the child development-head start programs represent a program that has a direct service benefit to the poor. Military contract expenditures, and to some extent military pay, influence the status of the poor indirectly through their effect on overall economic conditions.

Any discussion of the status and plight of the poor which looks at the direct or indirect benefit of federal outlays must recognize that while government outlays may represent a shifting of income allocation, everything that government has to spend must be extracted from the labor of its citizenry. And, in this regard, it should be remembered that the cost of government is likely to be an especially difficult burden on the poor and near poor. Tax structure, for example, tends to be highly regressive: sales taxes, which apply stringently to necessities as well as luxuries, social security taxes, and effective personal incomes taxes on persons who are not positioned to take advantaged of tax breaks, exemptions, and write-offs may all work disadvantageously toward the poor.²⁶

Government transfer payments are increasing as a source of income allocation, increasing from 3% of personal income in 1945 to 14% in 1975.²⁷ Between 1963 and 1974 government transfers to persons increased from \$33 billion to \$134.6 billion. In the same period, grants-in-aid increased even faster (381%) from \$9.1 to \$43.8 billion.²⁸ Personal income of Mississippians derived from transfer payments increased by 145% between 1959 and 1969 and by 61% between 1965 and 1969.²⁹

SUMMARY

Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of any State in the nation. However, per capita income in Mississippi has been increasing both in relative and absolute terms. Increased per capita income comes about through population movement (out-movement of low income persons, or in-movement of higher income persons), adjustments in fertility, and non-spatial movement of individuals to higher paying positions.

Some 90% of the income of Mississippi families in 1970 was derived from earnings. Social Security payments accounted for a higher percentage of cash income payments to poor white than to poor black families in Mississippi. Poor blacks derived a larger percentage of their total income from wages and salaries than did poor white families. Social Security transfers assumed increased significance for families with elderly household heads.

Federal outlays in the form of transfers to persons and grant-in-aid are assuming increased importance in the allocation of personal and family income.

1. Charles H. Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 91-92.
2. Excluded from PCI in census calculations are receipts from the sale of personal property, capital gains, refunds, gifts, inheritances, insurance payments, and in-kind consumption. U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1973 Population and 1972 Per Capita Income Estimates for Counties and Incorporated Places in Mississippi," Current Population Reports, P-25, No. 569 (June, 1975), pp. III-IV.
3. Guy T. Peden and Gaines M. Rogers, Mississippi Personal Income, (State College: College of Business and Industry, Mississippi State University, 1972), p. 1.
4. Marshall R. Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).
5. Alcorn, Lafayette, Lee, Lowndes, Warren, Hinds, Rankin, Lauderdale, Jones, Forrest, Harrison, and Jackson, Current Population Reports, Series P-25, No. 569 (June, 1975).
6. Clarence H. Danhof, "Four Decades of Thought in the South's Economic Problems," in Melvin Greenhut and W. Whitman (eds.), Essays in Economic Development (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 16.
7. W. H. Nichols, The South's Low Income Rural Problems and Rural Development Programs (Washington: National Planning Association, 1959); Southern Tradition and Regional Progress, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 12-13.
8. Among the reasons frequently cited for preference that jobs move to people rather than people moving to jobs are the effects of out-migration on property values (which well may improve the relative opportunity cost for poor persons if prices decrease), on area retail sales, and on opportunities for local professional persons. There is also the "multiplier effect" in that community income is expanded somewhat more than the amount of wages and salary payments to workers, which operates negatively with out-migration. Colberg, p. 17.
9. Daniel O. Price, Rural-Urban Migration and Poverty, (Washington: Office of Economic Opportunity, 1971), p. 58.
10. Rupert Vance, All These People, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), p. 478.
11. Jonathan Daniels, "Men at the Corner," Virginia Quarterly Review, 31 (1955), p. 222.
12. Wilson Gee, "The Drag of Talent Out of the South," Social Forces, 18 (October 1939), pp. 41-47; Howard Odom, Southern Regions of the United States, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 471.

13. Colberg, p. 17
14. Price, p. 2
15. See the sources cited in Price, p. 3.
16. Ibid., p. 69.
17. Donald Schon, "Assimilation of Migrants into Urban Centers," in President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USGPO, 1968), pp. 267-287. Kain has pointed out that "gilding programs" designed to encourage compensatory amenities through housing, education, and other compensation programs in urban areas may cause a higher rate of migration from Southern rural areas which is counter productive to ostensible efforts to alleviate urban problems. John F. Kain, "Alternatives to the Gilded Ghetto," Public Interest, 14 (Winter, 1969), pp. 74-87.
18. Price, p. 59, Cf., A.L. Bacon, "Poverty among Interregional Rural to Urban Migrants," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington, D.C. (August 26-30, 1970).
19. Without question the in-movement of persons into an area that has acquired a high wage industry will be reflected throughout the economic structure with a multiplier effect. However, this does not necessarily mean a translation of benefits to the poor and low income working force.
20. Colberg, p. 122.
21. Thomas Till, Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty: Pattern of Labor Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets and Their Impact on Local Poverty, (Austin: Center for the Study of Human Resources, University of Texas, 1972), p. 25-28.
22. Colberg, p. 17
23. Ibid, p. 16.
24. Inabel Lindsay, "The Multiple Hazards of Age and Race: The Situational of Aged Blacks in the United States," in Preliminary Survey for the Committee on Aging, U.S. Senate, (September, 1971), p. 2.
25. Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1973," Series P-60, No. 98, (January, 1975), pp. 9-10.
26. It is the "poor and middle-class working people who carry the heaviest load by paying... social security and other forms of regressive taxes." A. Blaustein and G. Faux, The Star Spangled Hustle (Anchor, 1973), p. 4.
27. Appendix I, Table 21.

28. Irving Stern, "Industry Effects of Government Expenditures: An Input-Output Analysis," Survey of Current Business, (May, 1975).
29. Appendix I, Table 22.

CHAPTER 6

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

Employment is one of the most important of all poverty related characteristics. It is their jobs that provide most of the income for the majority of working Americans. Where this income is sufficient, there is no poverty. A social structure that is characterized by unemployment among those ready, capable, willing, and interested in working is one that will virtually guarantee poverty to those who cannot locate jobs. Vatter has asserted that "...most of the poor remain poor because access to income through work is currently beyond their reach. The unskilled, middle-aged and unemployed laborer is helpless in the face of unemployment."¹

Effects of Unemployment

In the 1970s unemployment in the United States reached into the most skilled vocations and professions in which there had been a recent history of an employee market (engineering and higher education are ready examples), not to mention persons marginal to the labor market. In periods of high unemployment which reaches categories not traditionally marginal to the labor market, three of its consequences cause poverty:

1. Persons unemployed for long periods may drop into poverty.
2. Persons who are forced to settle for part-time or marginal work if they can get it may drop into poverty.
3. People who in a full-unemployment economy would have high productivity jobs but who can only obtain low-productivity jobs may also drop into poverty.²

In addition, the chances for persons who are already in poverty to escape poverty through acquiring economic independence by their activities in the labor market are severely curtailed.

The effects of low employment are not only reflected in the loss of personal and family labor income, but in a wide range of undesirable social costs. A substantial portion of unemployed workers will see the range of their opportunities and choices curtailed or eliminated, with the result that they are pushed further into a state of poverty. Personal pathologies, from marital discord and familial disruption to pathological psychological states (from depressed outlook to heightened aggressiveness, anxiety, and alienation) may come to characterize increased numbers of individuals. Such pathologies may be reflected in various social indicators ranging from those on divorce proceedings to

the criminal or suicidal.

A reduction in public revenues and expenditures for public services and common goods is likely to follow in consequence. In addition to the services that would otherwise be rendered, the public sector is not able to absorb as many performers in service dispensing positions as it could have done otherwise, thus swelling the number of the unemployed and reducing the demand for private production due to the loss of sales in the private sector which the large public payroll would generate.³ As average marginal costs of production increase, production below capacity is likely to spread throughout the economy. The process of curtailing production becomes cumulative. Younger and older workers, women, and members of minority groups see their chances of useful employment reduced, and the opportunities to enter new fields are effectively closed.⁴

There is no getting around the fact that conditions which allow for maximum employment for those willing, capable, and desirous of working at wage-price-taxation levels which allow wage earners and their families to exist above the poverty level is a first preventive of as well as a first defense against poverty. In addition, such an environment is required in order to support the maximum delivery of social services and income transfers to those persons who, because of lack of skill or ability or because of mental, physical, or cultural incapacity, could not improve their economic status by paid employment even in an era of generally optimistic work potential for most persons desiring paid employment.

However, it needs to be recognized that employment itself does not guarantee an adequate income. A significant proportion of the poor are not poor because they are disabled, female heads of families, or unemployed. They are poor because they are employed at wages inadequate to raise them above the poverty line or because they are only irregularly employed.⁵

Far reaching alterations have taken place in the Mississippi economy in the past several decades. These changes have been reflected in new demands and opportunities for certain occupations and skills, while the demand for others has declined. The spread of supermarkets and similar establishments in the trade industry, organizational changes in commercial enterprises, and technological changes in agriculture and manufacturing, have brought about declines in some areas and increased employment in other activities. This chapter focuses on the magnitude and impact of these changes on the State's labor force and occupational patterns.

MISSISSIPPI'S LABOR FORCE

The definition of the labor force in current use in those persons 16 years⁶ of age and older who either work as paid employees or in their own business or work 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in a family farm

TABLE 1

LABOR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES FOR SPECIFIED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1970

	1950		1960		1970		1950 to 1970 Change		1960 to 1970 Change	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Total Labor Force	756,896	51.1%	742,604	51.6%	766,096	50.1%	29,200	3.9%	43,492	5.9%
Armed Forces	14,069	.9	20,981	1.5	23,008	1.5	8,939	63.5	2,027	9.7
Civilian Labor Force	742,827	50.2	721,623	50.1	763,088	48.7	20,261	2.7	41,465	5.7
Employed	716,851	48.4	682,339	47.4	724,699	46.2	7,848	1.1	42,360	6.2
Unemployed	25,976	1.8	39,284	2.7	38,373	2.5	12,397	47.7	- 911	- 2.3
Not in the Labor Force	724,194	48.9	696,869	48.4	781,865	49.9	57,671	8.0	84,996	12.2
Inmate of Institution	11,954	.8	14,485	1.0	15,087	1.0	3,133	26.2	602	4.2
Enrolled in School	182,130	12.3	172,303	12.0	131,781	8.4	- 50,349	-27.6	- 40,522	-23.5
Other										
Under 65 years old	517,388	34.9	362,879	25.2	555,654	22.7	-161,734	-31.2	- 7,225	- 2.0
65 years and over	12,722	.9	147,202	10.2	181,076	11.5	168,354	723.3	33,874	23.0
14 and 15 years old	NA		NA		98,276	6.3	NA		NA	
Male Labor Force	569,394	38.4	497,645	34.6	485,209	31.0	- 84,185	-14.8	- 12,436	- 2.5
Civilian Labor Force	555,644	37.5	476,894	33.1	462,910	29.5	92,734	16.7	- 13,984	- 2.9
Employed	538,692	36.4	453,026	31.4	443,659	28.3	- 95,033	-17.6	- 9,367	- 2.1
Unemployed	16,952	1.1	23,868	1.7	19,235	1.2	2,283	13.5	- 4,633	-19.4
Not in Labor Force	154,128	10.4	195,823	13.6	259,404	16.5	105,276	3.4	63,851	32.5
Female Labor Force	187,502	12.7	244,959	17.0	300,887	19.2	113,385	60.5	55,928	22.8
Civilian Labor Force	187,183	12.6	244,729	17.0	300,178	19.1	112,995	60.4	55,449	22.7
Employed	178,159	12.0	229,313	15.9	281,040	17.9	102,881	1.6	51,727	22.6
Unemployed	9,024	.6	15,416	1.1	19,139	1.2	10,114	112.1	3,722	24.1
Not in Labor Force	570,066	38.5	501,046	34.8	522,461	33.3	- 47,605	- 8.4	21,415	4.3
Total Population Age 14 and Over	1,481,090	100.0%	1,439,473	100.0%	1,567,961	100.0%	86,871	5.9%	128,488	8.9%

Source: Jackson City Planning Board, Economic Analysis: Jackson Metropolitan Area (May, 1972), p. 52.

or business plus those "unemployed" who were available to accept a job and had been looking for work during the past few weeks.⁷

Table 1 shows the changes in the Mississippi labor force for the decennial periods 1950-1960 and 1960-1970. Between 1960 and 1970 the labor force increased by 5.9% (Table 1). This represents a slight decrease in the male labor force (-2.5%) and a large increase in the female labor force (22.8%).

The decrease in the number of males in the labor force in Mississippi in the 1960s was totally accounted for by the large decrease in nonwhite males (-24.3) during this decade. At the same time, the increase in the female labor force was almost entirely due to the increase (39.5%) in white workers (Table 2).

TABLE 2

SIZE OF LABOR FORCE, BY RACE AND SEX OF MEMBERS
MISSISSIPPI, 1960 AND 1970

	TOTAL	MALE WHITE	NONWHITE	TOTAL	FEMALE WHITE	NONWHITE
1960	497,645	326,277	171,368	244,959	144,364	100,595
1970	485,209	355,568	129,641	300,887	201,395	99,492
Change	-12,436	39,291	-41,727	55,928	57,031	1,103
% Change	-2.5	9.0	-24.3	22.8	39.5	1.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

The proportion of the population in the official labor force in Mississippi remained about the same (slightly over 50% of those of eligible age) in 1950, 1960, and 1970. The proportion of the age eligible population not in the labor force decreased from 34.9% in 1950 to 22.7% in 1970. At the same time, there was a dramatic rise in the number of aged Mississippians who had withdrawn from the labor force.

Poverty and Labor Force Participation

A considerably higher proportion of poor than all income families were headed by persons who were not members of the labor force (Table 3). The difference is particularly noticeable for families headed by males. In 19.9% of all income families in Mississippi in 1970 headed by a male, the head was not a member of the labor force. For poverty families, 44.5% of the male headed were not members of the labor force.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY HEADS WHO ARE NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE
ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND
SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	PERCENT NOT IN LABOR FORCE	
	ALL INCOME FAMILIES	POVERTY FAMILIES
TOTAL		
Total	23.9	48.2
Male Headed	19.9	44.5
Female Heaced	49.9	58.5
WHITE		
Total	19.9	54.5
Male Headed	17.3	51.8
Female Headed	47.5	66.7
BLACK		
Total	33.4	44.4
Male Headed	27.3	38.9
Female Headed	51.7	55.6

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970

Illustrative Interpretation: In 23.9% of all income families the family head was not a member of the labor force; the family head was not a member of the labor force in 48.2% of the poor families.

For all income families, a larger percentage of white than black family heads were not in the labor force. Among poverty families, however, a larger percentage of black than white family heads were not in the labor force. The smaller proportion of heads not in the labor force among black poverty families indicates that a somewhat larger proportion of both males and female headed families among poor blacks are found among the "working poor." Of those not in the labor force, a higher percentage of black than whites were poor (See Appendix I).

Table 4 provides a breakdown of family heads in the labor force by age for all income and poor families in Mississippi in 1970. A somewhat large proportion of the heads of all income than poor families were in the labor force for all age levels for both males and females. There is a significant decline in labor force membership after age 65 for heads of both sexes. The causal factor cannot be determined from this data as to the proportion of older workers who have withdrawn from the labor force by choice or satisfactory retirement provisions and those who have withdrawn because of prejudice toward and discrimination against

older workers. It has been suggested that labor force participation among older persons would be much greater if they were not discouraged from participation in the job market.

TABLE 4
PERCENT OF FAMILY HEADS IN LABOR FORCE

	MALE		FEMALE	
	ALL INCOME	POOR	ALL INCOME	POOR
Under 25	92.0	81.3	57.2	49.2
25-64	89.7	73.4	61.1	40.9
65 and over	26.4	13.7	12.3	6.1
Related Children				
Under 6	--	--	53.6	49.0

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

While the prejudice against men is severe, it is possible that the constraints against middle age and older women are even greater. Robinson has noted that "one of the biggest problems older women face is combating the accepted stereotype of the woman after 50 as a dull, sexless, mentally and physically dead end kind of human being."⁸ Re-entry of older women (which for employees seems to be age 35) into the labor force is hindered by derogatory stereotypes and other imposed social and psychological limitations.

EMPLOYMENT IN MISSISSIPPI

The number of employed persons in Mississippi increased by nearly 37,000 persons between 1950 and 1970 (Table 5). A 61.4% increase was made among professional and technical workers, while the number of clerical and kindred workers rose by 58.8%.

The number of Mississippians employed as farmers and farm managers declined by 71.4% in the 1960s, farm laborers and formen by 60.4% and private household workers by 38.1%. The number of laborers decreased slightly (-1.1%), particularly in manufacturing (-17.6%). Although the number of managers and administration rose by 12.4%, this was accomplished by a 50.7% increase in salaried persons and a decline of 31.4% in self-employed managers and administrators.

Table 6 presents employment data for 1950-1970 by industrial sector. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of persons employed in educational services in Mississippi increased 27,000 out of a net increase of 37,000 employed persons. There was a decline of 92,500 persons employed in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries and a decrease of nearly 23,000 employed as private household workers. During this interval the number of Mississippians employed in manufacturing increased by a total of 55,000, of which 36,000 was in durable and 19,000 in non-durable goods.

Among the 38 sectors for which information is presented (Table 6), over 30 experienced increases between 1960 and 1970 greater than the total employment change (5.4%) during this time. Numerical increases in excess of 5,000 persons occurred in the following industries: construction, metal industries, manufacturing, electrical and non-electrical machinery manufacturing, transportation equipment manufacturing, textiles and fabricated products, other nondurable goods, wholesale trade, other retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, hospitals, and public administration.

Occupational Mix of Employment in Industrial Sectors

Technological and organizational changes in industry are reflected in the shifts in Mississippi's occupational pattern. The continuous decline in the proportion of laborers in manufacturing at each decennial census since 1950 (from 25% in 1950 to 8.1% in 1970) and the increase in the proportion of craftsmen (from 10.1% to 17.1%) and professional, technical, and kindred workers (1.6% to 4.2%) illustrates presumed technological changes in this sector. In trade, the steady decline of managers, officials and proprietors coupled with the increase in clerical workers indicates the organizational changes rooted in the growth of supermarkets and other large-scale retail outlets (Table 7).

Changes in production methods, in organization, in technology, or the adoption of mechanization may stimulate expansion or contraction in particular occupations. Mechanization and the trend toward gigantic complexes in the agricultural sector, for example, resulted in a sharp increase in the percentage of laborers (from circa 30% to more than 50%), while the proportion of farmers and farm managers to total workers in agriculture decreased from over two-thirds to just over one-third.

The technological and organizational changes in the occupational mix of Mississippi workers is further reflected in the overall changes in the proportion of workers employed in specific occupation groups between 1950 and 1970. Largest increases were recorded for professional and clerical workers, both of whom increased by more than 100%. Craftsmen and operatives also made considerable gains, increasing by more than 80%. Sharp decreases occurred among laborers and farmers and farm managers, with the latter decreasing by over two-thirds and the former by almost one-half.

TABLE 6

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, AND CHANGES, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-70

	1950		1960		1970		1950 to 1970 Change		1960 to 1970 Change	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	305,052	42.5%	146,278	21.4%	53,714	7.5%	-251,338	-82.4%	-92,564	-63.3%
Mining	3,617	0.5	5,969	0.9	7,462	1.0	3,845	106.3	1,493	25.0
Construction	36,455	5.1	44,849	6.6	53,770	7.5	17,315	47.5	8,921	19.9
Manufacturing	90,338	12.6	130,804	19.2	185,869	25.9	95,531	105.8	55,065	42.1
Durable Goods	48,274	6.7	60,928	9.0	97,054	13.5	58,360	20.8	36,126	59.3
Furniture and Lumber and Wood Products	41,453	5.7	34,197	5.0	36,663	5.1	4,790	11.6	2,465	7.2
Metal Industries	1,037	0.1	4,435	0.7	10,803	1.5	9,766	941.8	6,368	143.6
Machinery, Except Electrical	1,320	0.2	3,648	0.6	8,908	1.2	7,588	574.8	5,260	144.2
Electrical Machinery, Equipment and Supplies	460	0.1	4,923	0.7	11,008	1.5	10,548	2,293.0	6,085	123.6
Transportation Equipment	1,124	0.2	7,495	1.1	13,494	1.9	12,370	1,100.5	5,999	80.0
Other Durable Goods	2,880	0.4	6,230	0.9	16,178	2.3	13,298	461.7	9,948	159.7
Nondurable Goods	42,064	5.9	69,876	10.2	88,815	12.4	46,751	11.1	18,939	27.1
Food and Kindred Products	9,046	1.3	16,560	2.4	15,502	2.2	6,456	71.4	-1,058	-6.4
Textiles and Fabricated Textile Products	17,142	2.4	32,687	4.8	41,997	5.8	24,855	145.0	9,310	28.5
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	2,878	0.4	4,070	0.6	4,074	0.6	1,196	41.6	4	0.1
Chemicals and Allied Products	4,759	0.7	4,178	0.6	5,888	0.8	1,129	23.7	1,710	40.9
Other Nondurable Goods	8,239	1.1	12,381	1.8	21,354	3.0	13,115	159.2	8,973	72.5
Railway and Railroad Express Services	10,169	1.4	6,926	1.0	4,867	0.6	-5,302	-52.1	-2,059	-29.7
Trucking Service and Warehousing	4,504	0.6	7,305	1.1	9,044	1.3	4,540	100.8	1,739	23.8
Other Transportation	5,142	0.7	6,856	1.0	8,357	1.2	4,215	82.0	1,501	21.9
Communications	4,275	0.6	5,569	0.8	7,760	1.1	3,485	81.5	2,191	39.3
Utilities and Sanitary Service	6,674	0.9	8,598	1.3	12,834	1.8	6,160	92.3	4,236	49.3
Wholesale Trade	13,601	1.9	17,002	2.5	23,946	3.3	10,345	76.1	6,944	40.8
Food, Bakery and Dairy Stores	18,170	2.5	18,243	2.7	18,845	2.6	675	3.7	602	3.3
Eating and Drinking Places	15,433	2.2	15,275	2.2	14,676	2.0	-763	-4.9	-599	-3.9
Other Retail Trade	48,382	6.7	60,411	8.9	71,548	9.9	23,166	47.9	11,137	18.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	9,127	1.3	15,312	2.2	23,063	3.2	13,936	152.7	7,751	50.6
Business and Repair Services	11,134	1.6	11,435	1.7	15,018	2.1	3,884	34.9	3,583	31.3
Private Households	37,810	5.3	52,090	7.6	29,286	4.1	-8,524	-22.5	-22,804	-43.8
Other Personal Services	19,265	2.7	21,480	3.1	24,497	3.4	5,232	27.2	3,017	14.0
Entertainment and Recreation Services	3,650	0.5	3,070	0.5	2,869	0.4	-781	-21.4	-201	-6.5
Hospitals	11,926	1.7	13,204	1.9	22,844	3.2	10,918	91.5	9,640	73.0
Educational Services	26,186	3.7	35,997	5.3	62,179	8.6	35,993	137.5	27,182	72.7
Government	22,848	3.2	30,167	4.4	51,618	7.2	28,770	125.9	21,451	71.1
Private	3,338	0.5	5,830	0.9	10,561	1.4	7,223	216.4	4,731	81.1
Welfare, Religious and Nonprofit Organizations	NA		7,283	1.0	10,225	1.4	NA		2,942	40.4
Other Professional and Related Services	17,931	2.5	23,810	3.5	26,463	3.7	8,532	47.6	2,653	11.1
Public Administration	18,004	2.5	24,573	3.6	29,812	4.2	11,808	65.6	5,239	21.5
Total	716,851	100.0%	682,339	100.0%	718,948	100.0%	2,097	0.3%	36,609	5.4%

Source: Same as Table 1, p. 63.

TABLE 7

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD
AND OVER, MISSISSIPPI, 1950, 1960, 1970

Industry Group	OCCUPATION GROUP								
	Professional, etc.	Managers, Farmers, etc.	Clerical Workers	Sales Workers	Craftsmen	Operatives	Service Workers	Laborers	Not Reported
1950									
Agriculture, etc.	0.31	67.80	0.15	0.02	0.26	1.37	0.13	29.94	0.02
Mining	11.25	6.64	8.74	0.44	16.18	54.98	1.11	0.22	0.44
Construction	3.71	5.69	2.48	0.07	58.13	8.99	0.60	20.09	0.22
Manufacturing	1.62	5.01	4.85	2.54	10.06	48.58	1.79	25.00	0.55
Transportation and communication, etc.	2.54	6.66	20.09	0.39	19.84	29.14	2.98	18.03	0.33
Trade	1.34	26.62	8.25	28.31	5.37	12.58	13.42	3.87	0.24
Finance, etc.	1.86	19.86	38.50	28.84	1.24	0.50	6.17	2.74	0.29
Business and repair services	4.24	8.07	6.21	1.95	66.08	9.92	0.84	2.56	0.13
Personal services	1.54	3.06	1.84	0.36	1.49	13.35	72.44	5.80	0.12
Entertainment services	18.05	24.74	13.14	2.84	10.44	2.07	24.53	4.05	0.41
Educational services	74.91	2.00	5.72	0.17	1.98	1.59	12.45	0.98	0.20
Other professional services	55.51	2.47	14.76	0.15	1.49	2.03	22.42	0.89	0.08
Public administration	13.32	13.36	44.25	0.11	5.07	4.70	14.51	3.83	0.85
Not reported	3.04	3.86	3.21	1.26	1.96	2.53	2.04	4.87	77.23
Total	5.77	34.88	5.37	4.61	7.47	11.88	9.67	18.97	1.38
1960									
Agriculture, etc.	0.90	49.88	0.34	0.06	0.89	1.52	0.24	46.14	0.03
Mining	13.37	7.42	8.41	0.49	15.88	52.45	0.82	1.16	1.16
Construction	4.22	7.15	3.09	0.14	53.92	11.36	0.54	19.11	0.47
Manufacturing	2.36	4.56	6.35	2.85	14.27	53.97	1.66	12.53	1.45
Transportation and communication, etc.	3.33	8.41	20.15	0.65	17.82	34.74	2.76	11.15	0.99
Trade	1.13	22.93	10.59	25.32	7.56	14.39	12.61	4.50	0.97
Finance, etc.	2.07	21.99	42.23	24.93	1.38	0.30	4.70	1.51	0.89
Business and repair services	2.77	13.35	10.57	2.20	52.34	13.73	1.29	3.04	0.71
Personal services	0.96	2.80	2.09	0.37	1.21	9.37	78.68	4.25	0.27
Entertainment services	13.45	20.65	12.77	3.13	10.55	1.89	30.26	6.45	0.85
Educational services	68.38	2.27	7.29	0.12	2.02	1.65	16.90	0.88	0.49
Other professional services	48.88	2.81	16.40	0.07	1.72	1.68	27.09	0.76	0.59
Public administration	14.17	13.14	39.81	0.06	8.80	3.86	15.52	3.19	1.45
Not reported	0.61	1.37	1.10	0.41	0.77	1.32	0.49	2.73	91.20
Total	7.99	18.12	8.32	5.40	10.36	17.59	14.04	15.68	2.50
1970									
Agriculture, etc.	3.34	36.87	1.45	0.14	1.72	2.59	0.46	53.43	
Mining	9.22	7.12	5.12	0.72	18.80	54.16	1.47	3.39	
Construction	5.00	8.36	4.01	0.45	55.55	9.90	0.91	15.82	
Manufacturing	4.16	3.51	7.85	1.84	17.06	55.21	2.29	8.08	
Transportation and communication, etc.	5.81	7.53	20.33	0.84	21.19	32.05	2.22	10.03	
Trade	1.73	19.35	14.29	24.32	9.83	14.23	10.67	5.57	
Finance, etc.	3.48	18.60	47.69	22.81	1.68	0.42	4.02	1.30	
Business and repair services	6.61	8.21	13.66	3.09	47.20	14.33	4.97	1.93	
Personal services	1.58	3.83	4.00	0.43	1.51	7.62	77.04	3.99	
Entertainment services	18.56	20.46	9.38	5.23	6.69	0.70	29.03	9.65	
Educational services	59.81	4.86	13.20	0.13	1.62	1.55	18.25	0.58	
Other professional services	41.69	3.14	18.29	0.35	1.93	1.82	32.06	0.72	
Public administration	15.90	14.45	35.94	0.27	6.47	3.99	20.36	2.61	
Total	12.24	10.70	12.55	5.84	13.66	21.57	13.90	9.53	
Percent change, 1950-70	112.1	-69.3	133.7	26.7	82.9	80.7	43.7	-49.8	

SOURCE: M. Attar and John V. D. Saunders, "Mississippi Jobs," Growth and Change, 5 (October, 1974), p. 35.

Such a contrast represents the kind of economic development where- in substantial growth can take place without a significant reduction in the number of the poor. The primary result of economic growth that apportions agricultural income in larger and larger segments and among fewer and fewer persons with sufficient capitalization for investment in intensive technology is likely to be a shift from rural poverty to urban poverty. Massive technological development in Southern agriculture has displaced large quantities of low-skilled labor for the nonagricultural sector to absorb.⁹

It would appear that at the marco level the rural poor have been trapped by simultaneous structural change in both the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the economy. In the agricultural sector, "a politically biased government subsidy program has permitted the large commercial farmer to integrate new capital and new technology into his farming operations, thereby displacing large quantities of low-skilled workers."¹⁰ At the same time, structural change in the nonagricultural sector constrained employment opportunities for low-skilled labor. The number of laborers employed in Mississippi, for example, decreased by 49.8% between 1950 and 1970 (Table 7).

Further declines in the proportion of the work force employed directly in agriculture, especially as farmers and farm managers, may be anticipated, as the massive relocation in agriculture continues to be felt. There is also likely to be a continued increase in the proportions employed in manufacturing and service occupations such as transportation and communication, trade, finance, insurance, real estate, repair business, entertainment, recreational, and educational services, public administration and the professions.

Nonagricultural employment in Mississippi increased by nearly 20% between 1969 and 1975, from 568 to 679 thousand persons (Table 8). The biggest increase occurred in transportation equipment manufacturing (81.7%). Major increases were also made in electrical and nonelectrical machine manufacturing (46.3% and 57.3% respectively). The biggest increase in nondurable goods manufacturing occurred in printing, publishing, and allied activities (27.6%), while the largest nonagricultural increase occurred in finance, insurance and real estate (38%). Losses occurred in furniture and fixtures manufacturing (-14.5%), optical goods and miscellaneous manufacturing (-17.2%), and textile mill products (-14.9%). The largest nonagricultural employers in Mississippi in 1975 were government (147,000) and wholesale and retail trade (133,000).

Race and Employment

Table 10 looks at the racial mix of employed males in Mississippi in 1970. Whites accounted for 73.2% of total male employment, blacks for 26.8%. Blacks were underrepresented in the white collar occupations, and overrepresented in operatives, labor, and service occupations. About 70% of total male employment as farm laborers in Mississippi in

TABLE 9

EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR, MISSISSIPPI, ANNUAL
AVERAGE 1969 and JANUARY, 1975

INDUSTRIAL SECTOR	1969	1975	% CHANGE 1969-1975
Nonagricultural wage and salary	567.8	678.9	19.6
Manufacturing	182.1	205.4	12.8
Durable goods	94.5	113.9	20.5
Lumber and Wood Products	23.4	20.0	-14.5
Furniture and Fixtures	14.1	14.7	4.3
Stone, Clay, & Glass Products	6.1	6.6	8.2
Primary Metals and Fabricated Metal Products	10.6	12.0	13.2
Machinery, except Electrical	7.5	11.8	57.3
Electrical Machinery	12.1	17.7	46.3
Transportation Equipment	14.2	25.8	81.7
Optical Goods & Micx. Mfg.	6.4	5.3	-17.2
Nondurable goods	87.6	91.5	4.4
Food and Kindred Products	17.7	19.9	12.4
Textile Mill Products	7.1	5.9	-16.9
Apparel & Other Finished Textile Products	38.6	39.0	1.0
Paper and Allied Products	7.1	7.2	---
Printing, Publishing & Allied	2.9	3.7	27.6
Chemical & Allied Products	5.2	6.1	17.3
Petroleum, Rubber, and Leather Products	8.9	9.7	9.0
Nonmanufacturing	385.7	473.5	22.8
Mining	5.9	6.4	8.4
Contract Construction	32.1	37.4	16.5
Transportation, Public Utilities	29.6	35.9	21.3
Finance, Insurance, & Real Est.	20.1	27.7	37.8
Service and Miscellaneous	65.9	86.2	30.8
Government	128.0	147.2	15.0
Public Education	53.2	66.5	13.7

Source: Computed from Unpublished data, U.S. Department of Labor,
Annual Manpower Reports Series.

1970 consisted of black laborers. Black laborers also accounted for more than half of the employment in non-farm labor. Disparities in the proportion of blacks in ratio to total employment is clear, notable, and distinct, with black males severely underrepresented in professional, technical, managerial, administrative, sales, craftsmen, foremen, and farm operator jobs. The disparities are not quite as great among employed females, although a notable underrepresentation may be seen in managerial, sales, and clerical occupations (Appendix Table 28).

TABLE 10
OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED MALES BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL		PERCENT	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	WHITE	NONWHITE
Total	443,659	100	73.2	26.8
Professional, Tech., Kindred	42,813	100	88.7	11.3
Managers (Non-Farm), Adm.	45,713	100	94.8	5.2
Sales Workers	24,861	100	96.3	3.7
Clerical & Kindred Workers	22,848	100	87.3	12.7
Craftsmen, Foremen	87,854	100	82.8	15.2
Operatives (Exc. Transpt.)	63,051	100	66.2	33.8
Transpt. Equip. Operatives	29,292	100	61.1	38.9
Laborers (Exc. Farm)	36,688	100	42.5	57.5
Farmers, Farm Mgrs.	18,442	100	78.3	21.7
Farm Laborers, Foremen	22,362	100	29.3	70.7
Service Workers (Ex. Hh.)	24,354	100	57.5	42.5
Private Household Workers	751	100	11.5	88.5

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

A much larger proportion of the white than black employed were in white collar occupations (professional, managerial, clerical, sales) in 1970 for both males and females. Over one-half of the black employed males (58%) were in manual occupations, compared to slightly under half (45.5%) of the employed whites. Examination of the job patterns within the manual occupations shows that whites have a higher proportion of craftsmen and foremen, while a higher proportion of blacks are found among operatives and laborers (See Appendix 1). For black males, manual and service workers accounted for 75% of those employed, compared to just over 50% of white males employment. Service and manual jobs accounted for over two-thirds of the employment of black females in Mississippi in 1970, compared with one-third for white females (Table 11).

TABLE 11

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED WORKERS, BY RACE AND SEX,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	MALE		FEMALE	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
White Collar	38.5	9.2	57.5	22.0
Manual	45.5	58.0	23.8	18.3
Service	4.3	9.3	11.9	51.0
Agriculture	6.2	15.7	.7	1.4

NOTE: Total come to less than 100% since those employed persons whose occupation was not shown are not listed.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

RECENT CHANGES IN EMPLOYMENT

Although the effects of past discrimination are reflected in differential rates of poverty, unemployment, and other measures, changes over the last decade have resulted in many blacks now taking part in economic, cultural, and political life in numbers and forms that would have been impossible in past generations.¹¹ Recent changes in employment may be seen by comparing distributions in occupations covered by Equal Employment Opportunity reports. EEO reports provide information on the employment distribution of non-government units which employ 100 or more workers. Religious institutions are exempted unless they have government contracts. Since temporary or casual employees are also excluded, the data generally do not include agricultural and private household workers, and include only a small part of the construction industry. Industries characterized by many small establishments, particularly trade and service industries, are underrepresented. However, the EEO data is particularly representative of employment in large establishments.

Comparison of the percentages of minority members¹² in 1971 and 1975 show notable trends in the racial makeup of employees in reporting units in Mississippi. Percentage increases were made in all occupational categories except service workers. Fully 30% of the employed workers covered in the EEO survey in Mississippi in 1973 were black, compared to 25% in 1971. In 1973, blacks accounted for less than 10% of the white collar employees in Mississippi. Blacks filled as much as 50% of the covered positions only as laborers and service workers (Table 12).

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITY¹ EMPLOYEES BY OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORIES FOR REPORTING UNITS,² MISSISSIPPI, 1971 AND 1973

	1971	1973
Total Employment	25.5	30.0
Total White Collar	5.4	9.4
Official and Managers	2.8	4.4
Professionals	6.7	9.4
Technicians	8.8	15.0
Sales	77.1	11.2
Office and Clerical	5.3	10.2
Total Blue Collar	32.0	37.0
Skilled Craft	13.9	18.2
Operatives	30.5	38.3
Laborers	57.9	60.6
Service Workers	60.3	58.2

1. Negro, Spanish surnamed, American Indians, Oriental.
2. Employers of 100 or more employees exempting religious and educational enterprises not having government contracts and temporary or casual employees hired for a specific period of time for the duration of a specific job. A large part of the construction industry and some employment in service industries is reduced by these exclusions.

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1971, 1973.

Minority employees differed considerably from white workers in the way in which they were distributed among job categories (See Appendix I). Only 56% of all whites were in blue collar occupations. By contrast, 79% of the minority workers held blue collar positions. Thus, about four times the proportion of whites as minorities were on white collar jobs.

Within the blue collar field, white and minority males in Mississippi varied substantially in their occupational distribution among job categories. While 13.6% of the minority men were in the well paying skilled craft positions (including blue collar work supervisors), over one-fourth (25.8%) of the white men were in like jobs. Most of the minority blue-collar employees were concentrated in the operative and laborer jobs.

Because of this overall employment picture, the greater incomes of white workers is not surprising.¹³ It is obvious that minorities remain at the bottom of the economic ladder, disproportionately concentrated in low paying industries.

Poverty and Occupation

Table 13 shows the percentage of poverty among Mississippi families according to sex, race, and occupation of family head. For male heads, the proportions of poor ranged from under 10% for professional, technical and kindred workers, managers and administrators, sales workers, and clerical and kindred workers to over 50% for male heads employed as farm laborers and foremen, service workers, and private household workers.

TABLE 13
PERCENT INCIDENCE OF POVERTY OF FAMILY HEADS IN SPECIFIED
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

OCCUPATION	State		White		Negro	
	Male Heads	Fm Heads	Male Heads	Fm Heads	Male Heads	Female Heads
All occupations	16.6	46.0	8.1	20.7	44.0	69.3
Professional, Technical, Kindred	3.9	20.5	3.3	9.3	9.8	37.5
Managers, Administrators	5.0	18.3	4.3	13.3	18.6	39.7
Sales Workers	4.6	26.5	3.9	19.3	27.7	59.1
Clerical and Kindred	5.6	18.8	3.9	14.1	19.1	52.3
Craftsmen and Kindred	11.7	38.9*	7.2	24.0	36.0	61.3
Operatives (Except Transport)	17.5	38.9*	9.3	24.0	35.1	61.3
Transport Operatives	22.1	38.9*	11.2	24.0	40.5	61.3
Laborers (except farm)	36.4	51.0	19.9	34.8	46.9	62.7
Farmers, farm managers	32.6	55.5#	23.1	39.0	68.0	59.3
Farm laborers and foremen	65.4	55.5#	34.1	39.0	78.6	59.3
Service Workers	55.4	60.8	8.5	36.6	39.6	71.8
Private Household Workers	55.9	81.1	12.2	47.0	60.6	82.4
Head Unemployed	40.1	77.2	21.2	44.5	65.6	87.0
Head not in labor force	54.6	68.0	42.7	47.4	76.3	83.1

*Craftsmen and kindred, operatives, and transport combined. Combinations made separately for female heads for each racial category.

#Farm workers category inclusive for female heads.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

The incidence of reported poverty is in sharp contrast according to the sex of family heads. The incidence of poverty is greater among blacks than whites for all occupational categories. Among male headed families, the lowest incidence of poverty for both whites (3.3%) and blacks (9.8%) was found among persons in professional, technical and kindred occupations.

TABLE 14

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, FOR SPECIFIED PERSONS AND OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, UNITED STATES, OCTOBER, 1975

CATEGORY	RATE	CATEGORY	RATE
Total, 18 years and over	8.6	OCCUPATION ³	
Males, 20 yrs and over	7.1	White collar workers	4.8
Females, 20 yrs and over	7.8	Professional and technical	3.1
Both sexes, 18-19 yrs	19.9	Managers and admin., except farm	2.8
White, total	7.9	Sales workers	5.9
Males, 20 yrs and over	6.5	Clerical workers	7.0
Females, 20 yrs and over	7.4	Blue-collar workers	11.2
Both sexes, 16-19 yrs.	17.8	Craft & kindred workers	8.4
Negro and other races, total	14.2	Operators	12.0
Males, 20 yrs and over	11.7	Nonfarm laborers	16.2
Females, 20 yrs and over	12.2	Service workers	9.1
Both sexes, 16-19 yrs	37.0	Farm workers	3.6
Household	5.9	INDUSTRY	
Married men, spouse present	5.2	Nonagricultural prime wage & salary workers	9.1
Full-time workers	8.6	Construction	17.9
Part-time workers	10.1	Manufacturing	10.2
Unemployed 15 weeks and over ¹	2.8	Durable goods	10.2
State insured ²	5.7	Nondurable goods	10.5
Labor force time lost ²	9.4	Transportation & public utility	9.8
		Wholesale & retail trade	5.4
		Finance & service industries	8.8
		Government workers	7.1
		Agriculture wage & salary workers	10.6
VETERAN STATUS			
Males, Vietnam-era veterans ³		CONTINUATION OF VETERANS	
20 to 34 years	9.3	Males, nonveterans:	
20 to 24 yrs	22.0	20 to 34 yrs	9.9
25 to 29 yrs	7.9	20 to 24 yrs	13.6
30 to 34 yrs	5.3	25 to 29 yrs	8.1
		30 to 34 yrs	5.6

¹Rate calculated as percent of civilian labor force²Insured under State programs; rate calculated as percent of average covered employment.³In military service after August 1, 1974.Source: Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly, (November 12, 1975), p. 5.

Among male heads of families employed as sale workers, the frequency of poverty was 28% for blacks in contrast to 4% for whites. The incidence of poverty among male headed families was over four times as great among blacks than whites for male heads employed as managers and administrators, clerical and kindred workers, and craftsmen. Irrespective of occupation, the incidence of reported poverty among Mississippians was notably greater among the black citizens.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN MISSISSIPPI

Unemployment among persons who are able and desirous of working is a major obstacle to anti-poverty efforts. By the middle 1970s severe unemployment had come to characterize the national economy, with the American people caught in the incongruous dilemma of inflation and recession at the same time.¹⁴ The official unemployment rate for the United States in October, 1975 was 8.6 (Table 14). The white rate (7.9) was less than the rate for nonwhites (14.2) and the rate for blue collar workers (11.2) was considerably higher than the nonwhite rate (4.8). Unemployment in the construction industry was 17.9, and was 16.2 for non-farm laborers.

Although the affect of unemployment in Mississippi was probably not felt as greatly as it was in some more populous and industrious areas, its effects were felt by individual citizens as well as the social structure at large. In addition to the individual suffering,¹⁵ the prospect of holdbacks in public sector services was a threatened consequence as the absence of increase in public revenues reflected the economic slow down. In 1974 unemployment in Mississippi increased by 22% (Table 15).

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS YEAR, CIVILIAN
LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT, MISSISSIPPI, 1971-1974

	1971	1972	1973	1974
Civilian Labor Force	1.88	5.54	4.51	3.70
Unemployed	3.74	-15.46	-3.05	22.01

Source: Employment Security Commission.

Table 16 shows the number of employed and "effectively unemployed" (the number of unemployed plus those not in the labor force) for Mississippi at the most recent census. The number of effectively un-

employed male family heads was almost the same for both blacks and whites (27,359 and 26,541 respectively) while the number of effectively employed female family heads was two and a half times greater among blacks than whites (18,821 compared to 7,400).

The labor force participation ratio (number employed divided by the total in the categories of unemployed plus not in the labor force) times one hundred was much greater among all income families than for poor families.

The highest labor force participation rate was among white male family heads of all income levels (414 males employed male heads to every 100 unemployed male heads) and the lowest among female heads of black families (64). For male headed families, there were 108 employed heads for each 100 effectively unemployed heads. Among white families, only female heads of poor families had labor force participation ratios of under 100 (more unemployed than employed), while female heads of all income (77) and poverty families (64) had ratios less than 100 (Table 16).

TABLE 16

NUMBER EMPLOYED AND EFFECTIVELY UNEMPLOYED (UNEMPLOYED AND NOT IN LABOR FORCE), AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATIO, ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF FAMILY HEADS MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RACE AND SEX OF FAMILY HEAD	EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED AND NOT IN LABOR FORCE		LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATIO	
	ALL INCOME	POVERTY	ALL INCOME	POVERTY	ALL INCOME	POVERTY
TOTAL						
Male Headed	35,040	58,383	101,428	54,089	346	108
Female Headed	33,269	15,308	38,331	26,302	87	58
WHITE						
Male Headed	267,961	21,803	64,763	26,541	414	82
Female Headed	15,913	10,689	15,655	7,400	102	144
NEGRO						
Male Headed	82,418	36,294	36,408	27,359	226	133
Female Headed	17,315	11,998	22,554	18,821	77	64

$$^1 \text{Labor Force participation ratio} = \frac{\text{Employed}}{\text{Not in labor force} + \text{unemployed (effectively unemployed)}} \times 100$$

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970:

Illustrative Interpretation: For all income families with a male head there were 346 employed male heads to every 100 unemployed male heads. For male headed poverty families, there were only 108 employed heads for 100 unemployed heads.

Poverty and Unemployment

It is sometimes observed that most of the unemployed are not poor, and most of the poor are not unemployed.¹⁶ This is true for Mississippi. As indicated in Figure 1, most of the families whose head was unemployed were not poor (although a much larger percentage of the unemployed than the employed are poor), while only a small fraction of the heads of poor families (3.6%) were unemployed.

FIGURE 1

POVERTY STATUS ACCORDING TO 1969 FAMILY INCOMES BY STATUS OF FAMILY HEADS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

1. 29% of all families had incomes below the poverty level.
2. 19.7% of all families whose head was a member of the labor force were poor.
3. 48.2% of all families whose head was unemployed were poor. 51.8% of all whose head was unemployed were not poor.
4. 15.6% of all families whose head worked 35 hours or more during the reference week were poor. 84.4% were not poor.
5. 33.3% of the heads of poor families worked 35 hours more during the reference week.
61.7% of the heads of all families worked.
6. 3.5% of the heads of all poor families were unemployed.
2.2% of all family heads were unemployed.
7. 51.2% of the heads of poor families were members of the labor force.
76% of the heads of all income families were members of the labor force.
8. 58.3% of the families whose head was not in the labor force were poor.
20% of the families whose head was in the labor force were poor.
9. 51.7% of the heads of poor families were "effectively unemployed."
26.1% of the heads of all families were "effectively unemployed."
57.5% of the "effectively unemployed" were poor.
10. 51.6% of the family heads not in the labor force because of school enrollment had reported money incomes below the poverty level.
11. 2.7% of the poor family heads who were not members of the labor force were students.

FIGURE 1 (CONTINUATION)

12. 77.9% of the female family heads not in the labor force because of school enrollment had reported money incomes below the poverty level. This was for 44.6% of the male heads.
13. 87.2% of the black family heads not in the labor force because of school enrollment had reported money incomes below the poverty level, compared with 54.8% for whites. Blacks accounted for 28.3% of the total poor families headed by a female enrolled in school.

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

One reason that most of the unemployed are not poor is that "most unemployed people are not permanently unemployed."¹⁷ Furthermore, there is often more than one wage earner in the family. Eligibility for unemployment benefits which supplement income from earnings are available to about half the population of the nation. Also, some have sufficient income that they can afford to be unemployed.

A major factor is that those who are poor often have disabilities which take them out of the labor market and thus out of the unemployment figures. The unemployed poor "constitute one of the easiest of the many poverty-stricken groups in the United States to rehabilitate."¹⁸ In contrast to the hard-core unemployed and generally unemployed because of lack of skills, attitudinal, familial, or health reasons, many of the former can communicate passably, have worked with tools, and have histories of fairly steady work.

Additional information on the relationship between poverty and unemployment assembled in Figure 1 shows a great difference in the incidence of poverty among families whose head was not in the labor force (58.3%) and families whose head was in the labor force (19.7%). Whereas slightly over one-half of the heads of poor families were in the labor force, 76% of the heads of all income families were members of the labor force.

Thus, the factors which keep an individual from being a member of the labor force seem to be a more instrumental factor than unemployment in accounting for family poverty in Mississippi in 1970. Yeager has pointed out that any analysis of the employment problems of the poor must recognize that the poor are often unwillingly unemployed or underemployed due to discrimination against the aged, against blacks, and other categories.¹⁹ Since the employment rate is the percentage of those who have made a specific effort to locate a job within the last four weeks and who are available for work, it may not adequately measure the amount of enforced idleness from paid work since many workers who have not been successful in achieving reemployment or first employment may

retreat from active participation in the labor force out of discouragement²⁰ With more optimistic chances for employment the size of the labor force might be much greater than it actually is. Thus the official measure of unemployment is thought to dilute the actual amount of "real" unemployment or enforced idleness. This is sometimes described as "hidden" unemployment, which is thought to be the greatest among the poor, the aged, and occupationally marginal persons. Similarly, rural area unemployment is underrepresented in that part-time (15 hours per week) and unpaid family workers are not regarded as unemployed.²¹

Anti-poverty policy must recognize that "no clean bill of health would be granted automatically to even a full employment economy unless the following kinds of latent or seldom diagnosed problems are eradicated."²²

Subemployment: Working less than full-time or full-year, which is a chronic problem for many workers.

Low-Level Employment: Many workers are trapped in jobs are not mentally or financially rewarding, which are characterized by harsh and arbitrary discipline, low pay, and absence of career path.

Involuntary Employment: Many older people are reportedly forced to take jobs because they cannot live on retirement income, while many heads of households are forced to take second jobs because taxation and inflation makes it impossible to maintain a decent level-of-living on the wages received from primary jobs. Many women who would prefer to stay home and raise their children are forced to take jobs, generally less than desirable ones, for the same reasons.

Underemployment: The educational levels of workers which are greater than can be utilized in available jobs is rapidly becoming a major workplace problem in American society.

The Census data as such do not provide any information on the last three employment problems. However, if subemployment is measured by weeks worked, there is a definite and noticeable relationship between weeks worked by family heads and family poverty in Mississippi for all occupational distributions. Table 17, which shows weeks worked in 1969 for male family heads as a percentage of all males heads working the specified period of time, indicates that subemployment was a significant factor in family poverty in Mississippi. For example, 68.5% of all male family heads who did not work in 1969 had incomes below the poverty level, contrasted to 10.8% of those who worked 50 - 62 weeks. A similar pattern obtained among female heads (See Appendix I).

TABLE 17

CIVILIAN MALE FAMILY HEADS WITH INCOMES
BELOW POVERTY LEVELS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL BY WEEKS
BY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

OCCUPATION	Did not work in 1969	Weeks worked in 1969 for heads with incomes below poverty level.			
		26 wks. or less	27-39 weeks	40-49 weeks	50-52 weeks
All Occupations	68.5	43.6	39.0	28.7	10.8
Professional, Technical Kindred	59.1	18.7	6.0	5.3	2.7
Managers, Admin.	63.5	21.2	20.2	9.8	3.8
Sales Workers	48.1	16.0	17.7	6.5	3.2
Clerical and Kindred	53.5	24.3	16.5	11.4	3.6
Craftsmen & Kindred	70.0	38.3	26.4	18.0	7.4
Operatives (ex. transport)	71.2	42.6	35.3	24.5	13.1
Transport Operatives	71.3	39.9	43.3	15.6	
Laborers (ex. farm)	75.3	62.5	52.2	44.3	26.2
Farmers, Farm mgrs.	70.3	44.1	52.0	45.0	26.4
Farm laborers & foremen	84.4	86.2	81.5	73.5	50.3
Service Workers	55.4	44.1	36.3	31.9	15.8
Private Household workers	100.0	64.5	49.2	36.1	59.2
Head Unemployed	69.1	58.3	46.1	37.9	19.9
Head not in labor force	59.9	49.8	40.4	39.1	25.5

Percentages refer to percent of all income levels for occupations specified. For example, 68.5% of all male family heads who did not work in 1969 had incomes below the poverty level. 21% of all managers and administrators who worked 26 weeks or less in 1979 were poor.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

High rates of unemployment as well as subemployment, low-level employment, involuntary employment, and underemployment, all have negative social costs. To the extent unemployment and subemployment of those able and desirous of employment are reduced, to that extent that there will be a corresponding reduction in poverty and its effects.

However, merely increasing the supply of jobs will not of itself solve all the problems of poverty, occupation, and unemployment. Job creation policies often do not greatly affect the critical problems of unemployment: pockets of chronic poverty, groups who have dropped out of the search for a job because of discrimination and discouragement, subemployment and underemployment. Even if the "United States were to create million of new jobs through massive spending or a program of public service employment, because of the substitution effect there would be many people who would need, but would not be receiving, the social, psychological and economic benefits that come from a good steady job."²⁴

O'Toole has suggested that programs should be initiated at the State, community, and plant level to make the labor market freer and more functional by allowing unwilling laborers to leave the labor force and open up jobs for people who want and need them.²⁵ Suggestions directed toward reducing the rigidities and barriers from the labor market include:

- Reduction of age, race²⁶ and sex discrimination.
- Increase of opportunities for mobility and vesting of pensions.
- Provide a program of mid-career worker sabbaticals covering tuition and some foregone income or which allow individuals to take a year or two off from their regular jobs to engage in some kind of public service.
- Redesign jobs to increase flexibility, such as provision of more part-time jobs and job-sharing (such as two mothers splitting one job to free them both to spend more time with their children) which "would reduce some of our most intractable unemployment problems with only half the job creation effort."
- Guarantee a minimum annual income.²⁷

SUMMARY

Employment, one of the most significant poverty related characteristics, is one of the most first preventatives of and defenses against poverty. The proportion of Mississippi's population in the labor force remained about the same between 1950 and 1970. Significant

decreases were recorded in the number of farmers and farm managers.

Blacks are proportionately underrepresented in white collar occupations and over represented in operatives, labor, and service occupations. The incidence of poverty is greater for blacks than whites in all occupational categories in Mississippi.

1. Ethel Vatter, "Income Maintenance in the 1970s," Journal of Home Economics, 63 (January, 1971), p. 21.
2. Alan B. Batchfelder, The Economics of Poverty, (New York: Wiley 1971), p. 96.
3. A particularly discouraging form of distortion occurs when those persons who do have public jobs, often citing the increased cost of living as justification for increases in their own wages, are able to negotiate higher wages which reflect the political clout they are able to assert rather than what their services carry in a market evaluation, thus throwing the spiral into ever widening circles as workers and consumers have to make up the added costs. The distortion takes two notable forms: 1) Decreased new employment in jobs because of the financial pinch, and 2) Increased compensation for public employees already on payrolls in a manner which contributes to the cost-of-living among the public which has to pay the increases. Not the least result of the increased costs of salary increases in the public sector is the resulting cost-squeeze on activities in the private sector which generate taxes to pay for the public services. One might venture to suggest that in public service activities (police services, garbage collection, medical service vocations, education, federal monopoly services, etc.) the key to determining whether wage increases are in order is whether or not there is waiting list of persons who desire employment at the going wages, not the wage which those employed necessarily desire to have.
4. K. W. Kapp, "Socio-Economic Effect of Low and High Unemployment," Annals, 418 (March, 1975), pp. 64-68.
5. Harry Bredemeier, "The Politics of the Poverty Cold War," Urban Affairs Quarterly, 3 (June, 1968), p. 16.
6. In contrast to prior censuses, where employment status data were presented for persons 14 years old and over, most of the 1970 census data relate to persons 16 years old and over. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PCCI - D26 Mississippi, Appendix p. 14.
7. It may be argued that the official definition of the labor force and unemployment is poorly designed to reflect the size of the population available for work since cultural and normative assumptions about work developed as a consequence of the limited supply of jobs and the "job rationing ideology" influences many individuals to behave in ways that excludes their being classified as members of the labor market. Frank Forstenberg and Charles Thrall, "Counting Jobless: The Impact of Job Rationing on the Unemployment," Annals, 418 (March, 1975) pp. 45-60.
8. Statement of Phyllis Robinson, Institute of Gerontology, Federal City College, before the subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, Economic Problems of Aging Women, (Washington: USGPO, 1975), p. 24.

9. Arthur M. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South. (Cambridge: Vallinger Pub. Co., 1973),
10. Ibid., p. 90
11. Hubert Humphrey, "Guaranteed Jobs for Human Rights," Annals, 418 (March, 1975), p. 19.
12. Minority members include persons classified as Negro, Spanish surnamed, American Indian and Oriental. In Mississippi, blacks account for about 99% of the minority members in EEO reports.
13. U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity, Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry, Vol. I (Equal Employment Opportunity Report 1973), p. xxviii. Cf.: Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports "Money Income in 1972 of Families and Persons in the United States," Series P-60, No. 90 (1973).
14. Historically, and rationally in terms of the market operation apart from tuning assistance, shoring, and misallocation by political intervention, prices decline rather than increase in depression or recession periods. In the 1970s, by contrast, adjustments to the economy were such that the nation faced the threat of triple digit inflation. The combination of inflation and recession makes almost any discussion of inroads into poverty superfluous. History has given abundant illustrative experience, the experience of Germany in this century being particularly apt, of the wholesale disruption of levels-of-living for masses of the public who are faced with the combination of rising costs and decreased earning opportunities. Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Studies in Price Stability and Economic Growth, paper No. 1, Inflation and the Consumer in 1974, (Washington: USGPO, 1975).
15. Linda Sanders, "People Tell State Unemployment Story," The Clarion-Ledger Jackson Daily News, January 11, 1976, p. F2.
16. Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, (McGraw-Hill, 1974) p. 347.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Dennis R. Yeager, "Work, the Law and the Poor - A Contemporary Perspective," Columbia Human Rights Law Review, 5 (Fall, 1973,) p. 281.
20. Furstenberg and Thrall, "Job Rationing and Unemployment," p. 50.
21. Statement of Thomas Kartner, Manpower consultant for the International Center on Black Aged, Inc., before the subcommittee on Rural Development of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, United States Senate, Medical Facilities, Concerted Services and Employment Projects in Rural Areas, (Washington: USGPO, 1975) p. 127

22. James O'Toole, "Planning for Total Employment," Annals, 418 March, 1975, p. 73.
23. O'Toole has pointed out that broad scale economic policies to create more jobs in response to high unemployment in the sense that demand by those in the labor force exceeds current supply "often leads to higher rates of unemployment because newly created jobs attract people into the paid labor force who previously were not looking for jobs." Ibid., p. 75.
24. Ibid. Furthermore, it should be recognized that the concept of government "taking action" to "create jobs" is an anomaly which is largely drawn from the myth which "assumes that politicians can simply pass laws raising society's standard of living, and that government is the creator of wealth, when in reality it is on balance the consumer and destroyer of national wealth." Irwin A. Schiff, The Biggest Con (New Rochelle, N.W.: Arlington House, 1976), p. 178.
25. O'Toole finds it ironic that "welfare work incentive programs in the United States are designed to get jobs for mothers instead of finding jobs for the fathers of welfare children." He contends that punishing welfare mothers by requiring the unwilling to take undersirable jobs "has little or no positive impact on the familial or employment problems of the chronically disadvantaged." He feels that headway among the chronically unemployed will be made "only when all men who wish to have families can be assured of good, steady jobs that will enable them to support their families." O'Toole's studies lead him to suggest that the nature of the father's employment (such as an unsteady, low-paying, demeaning, unskilled, or dead end job) is an even more significant factor than unemployment as such in its effect on "the self-esteem or social or economic ability to hold a family together," and plays a significant role in the high rates of desertion, separation, and matriarchal households and welfare cases found in disadvantaged communities. Op. Cit., p. 78.
26. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
27. Naylor and Clotfelter, who concur, observe: "Racial discrimination in employment not only deprives blacks; resultant low incomes for blacks means reduced buying power, and reduced buying power means fewer jobs and lower wages for all the people of the South-- not just blacks." Thomas Naylor and James Clotfelter, Strategies for Changes in the South, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 68.
28. Naylor and Clotfelter, who concur, explain that since minimum wage laws have served as impediments to economic development of the South, they recommend some form of guaranteed annual income rather than artificially inflated wage-rate through union contracts or minimum wage laws. They feel that the South, being the poorest region of the nation, would stand to derive substantial benefit from some type of guaranteed income. Ibid., pp. 69-71.

POVERTY AND EDUCATION

Education is responsible for the transmission of the cultural heritage from one generation to another. Education is also an important ingredient in fostering social change. Rightly or wrongly, education is regarded as the panacea for private and public problems of a cultural, social, or economic nature. Gunnar Myrdal, in his epic work on black - white relations in America, analyzed how the American faith in education as a vehicle for social engineering has been ingrained into the assumption that "education has always been the great hope for both individual and society."²

Benefits of Education

Two primary categories into which the benefits of education fall (for the society providing the education as well as the recipient individual) are those of a cultural nature such as the political and social attitudes that are shaped in and by the school) and those of an economic nature. While the cultural or social advantages of education are an important ingredient in the mix of education affect and may be the chief reward for some recipients, there is little question that Americans have viewed education with special affection largely because of the expectation that income and economic status would be more assured, more conveniently or desirably attained, and more rewarding than it would be without the schooling.

The economic growth of an area is to some degree dependent on the purposeful movement of individuals to better jobs, the development of new and better ways of doing things, the use of new products, and the ancillary tendency to plan for the future, including the provision and utilization of education.³ Wall has pointed out that of all the resources of an area, the human resource component is the most important. Natural resources can neither be properly utilized nor conserved without the adequate development of human resources. To a great extent, economic progress hinges on human resource development.⁴

Much of the enormous progress of civilization is a partial result of the huge social investment in education. Most of the more successful men and women in most occupational categories are generally well educated. The people with the smallest earnings as a class tend to rank low in educational achievement. Often, they are deficient in basic skills, and have attended school for fewer years than persons higher up on the socio-economic scale.⁵ To the extent that education is a tool by which the poor and disadvantaged can increase their per capita income, it is especially important for Mississippi (which has the largest proportion of poor persons in the nation) to provide for maximum development of its human resource potential.⁶

TABLE 1

PRESENT VALUE OF LIFETIME EARNINGS OF MALES, WHITE AND OTHER
RACES, DISCOUNTED AT 2 PERCENT, UNITED STATES, 1972

		Years of school completed					
Age and race	All males	Less than 8 years	8 years	9-11 years	12 years	13-15 years	16 years or more
WHITE							
20-24.....	314,652	169,520	210,703	253,674	304,792	352,591	466,945
25-29.....	311,657	170,638	211,791	248,384	298,102	356,092	475,494
30-34.....	290,011	162,010	201,327	230,869	276,750	337,042	458,683
35-39.....	257,212	145,958	178,908	205,316	247,752	306,304	419,053
40-44.....	217,169	124,065	150,413	174,021	212,975	267,873	355,032
OTHER RACES							
20-24.....	183,807	116,694	147,264	167,840	200,580	208,618	292,033
25-29.....	179,565	117,096	146,877	165,388	196,449	209,511	288,306
30-34.....	163,307	109,539	137,263	154,274	179,116	193,700	270,375
35-39.....	141,157	97,217	122,594	138,609	158,430	170,296	240,696
40-44.....	117,991	82,641	105,446	120,729	139,667	147,062	205,937

Source: Social Security Administration, Office of Research and Statistics, Research and Statistics Note, 14-1975, (September 30, 1975), p. 5.

EDUCATION AND INCOME

As with income, the educational level of a given individual or social group is simultaneously related to a variety of factors--luck, chance, biology, social status, random influences, environment, motivation, availability of facilities, and so on are all determinants of income. That education is a critical factor in income determination (or perhaps that it serves as an important class instrument in the preservation of inequality)⁷ is seen in the expected lifetime earnings of males age 20-24 by years of school completed. The present values of lifetime earnings for college educated whites discounted at 2%⁸ is 2.75 times greater than for males with less than 8 years of education and 1.59 times greater for males of other races in the same status. Racial influence is not erased through education in that current value of lifetime earnings of college educated males of other races was only 62% of that of whites.

Table 2, which gives the mean and median earnings of members of the labor force in the United States in 1970, shows that the income of persons with less than eight years of education was less than 50% of those with 5 or more years of college. Income differentials are not entirely an artifact of educational differences. Those with the least amounts of education frequently possess other characteristics and disabilities which limit their markable skills. However, there is a consistent relationship between formal education attained and median income.

TABLE 2
MEDIAN AND MEAN EARNINGS BY YEARS OF EDUCATION,
LABOR FORCE, UNITED STATES, 1970

LABOR FORCE		MEDIAN EARNINGS	MEAN EARNINGS
TOTAL		\$ 8,601	\$ 9,654
Elementary	0-8 years	6,368	6,615
High School	1-3 years	7,890	8,112
	4 years	8,805	9,271
College	1-3 years	9,745	10,821
	4 years	12,507	14,041
	5 or more	13,309	15,959

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports, Earnings by Occupation and Education, p. 1.

Whatever the form of measurement used, the data reveal that in terms of group averages, the higher the number of years of schooling, the higher the income received. However, increased years of formal

education does not necessarily result in the person with a higher education having greater earnings than a given individual with less formal education. Benefits of education above basic skills in literacy and communication are not realized by all to the same degree.⁹

EDUCATION LEVELS AND POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

Poverty, Education, and Age

The relationship between incidence of poverty and income holds true for Mississippi families (Table 3). For whites age 25-64, 30.3% of the families whose head had less than 8 years education had 1969 incomes below the poverty level. This proportion decreased consistently with increased levels of education. The same pattern is found for families in which the head was 65 years or more of age, although the percentage of poor is much larger for each educational level.

TABLE 3

PERCENT FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, BY
EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND AGE OF HEAD, WHITE AND NEGRO
POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

EDUCATION	Under 25 Years		25-64 Years		65 Years & Over	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Elementary						
Under 8 years	26.0	71.0	30.3	66.4	55.2	73.3
8 Years	22.8	67.2	18.6	57.8	43.3	63.2
High School						
1-3 Years	18.1	62.5	13.6	52.4	34.0	59.6
4 Years	10.6	35.5	7.9	38.3	20.3	51.5
College						
1-3 Years	17.2	34.9	5.3	27.8	16.6	45.5
4 Years	13.6	11.7	3.4	6.1	9.0	22.9
5 or More	10.4	----	3.1	5.2	8.5	27.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

The linear relationship between education and income also shows a consistent pattern for the Negro population, although the proportion of poor among blacks is larger at each education level. Whereas only

8% of the white families in Mississippi whose head (ages 25-64) had completed four years of high school were poor, 38% of their black counterparts were poor. While 5% of the white families of this age group whose head had 1-3 years of college were poor, 28% of their black counterparts had incomes below the poverty level.

For aged blacks, the mediating effect of education is less than for whites. For example, whereas 8.5% of the white families whose head had five or more years of college education but was 65 years of age or more were poor, nearly 28% of their black counterparts were poor.

High school graduation marks a definite drop in the percentage of black poor. Nevertheless, 38.3% of the black families whose head had completed high school had incomes below the poverty level. There is comparatively little racial difference in the proportion of poor families whose head finished college among the 25-64 age group. For heads obtaining 1-3 years of college, however, only 5% of the whites in contrast to 28% of the black families were poor. The proportions of poor among those completing specified years of college for the under 25 population likely reflects the gentle poverty of students and young families without responsibilities.

Poverty, Education, and Residential Distribution

Median education levels of family heads in Mississippi are highest for the urban population (12.3) and lowest for the rural population (8.9). The median exceeds 12 years for all income family heads for the States as a whole (10.8), the urban population (12.2) and the Jackson SMSA (12.4).

TABLE 5

MEDIAN YEARS SCHOOL COMPLETED, FAMILY HEADS,
TOTAL AND NEGRO, BY RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM	JACKSON SMSA
Total					
All Income	10.8	12.2	9.5	8.9	12.4
Poor	7.6	8.5	7.0	6.7	9.1
Black					
All Income	7.2	8.4	6.4	5.6	9.3
Poor	6.2	7.6	5.8	5.2	8.5

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Racial and residential differentials remain when the age of family head is considered. Whether poor or nonpoor, white or black, there is a consistent decrease in education levels as age increases. Aged black family heads of poor families have a median education of about five years (Table 6), barely sufficient for the five years of effective education required for functional literacy.

The median education level of the heads of all income families age 25-64 for the State as a whole exceeds 12 years only for the white population (12.2). The corresponding rate for black heads of this age group is 7.7 (Table 6). Corresponding levels for heads of poor families are 9.4 and 6.6 years respectively.

TABLE 6
MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FAMILY HEADS,
BY RACE, AGE, AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

<u>State</u>						
Total	12.3	11.3	8.1	10.7	7.8	6.2
White	12.6	12.2	8.9	12.5	9.4	8.2
Black	10.2	7.7	5.1	9.1	6.6	4.9
<u>Urban</u>						
Total	12.6	12.3	8.7	11.0	8.6	5.5
Black	12.0	8.7	6.4	10.3	8.1	5.1
<u>Rural Nonfarm</u>						
Total	12.1	10.1	7.4	9.9	7.2	6.1
Black	9.5	6.8	4.9	8.4	6.1	4.7
<u>Rural Farm</u>						
Total	10.0	9.4	8.1	8.1	6.8	6.5
Black	7.6	5.9	5.0	7.2	5.3	4.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

There has been a consistent long term improvement in the levels of education attained by all population categories. The Mississippi population, no less than the nation as a whole, has been characterized by the long term increase in the educational level of the population. Nevertheless, Mississippi, and the South as a whole, still have a long way to go to attain educational parity with the rest of the nation.

The median education levels of the Mississippi population for 1970 remained below the norm for the United States and the rest of the South for males and females (Table 7). The Mississippi white population compares favorably with national averages. The black population of Mississippi is among the most disadvantaged population groups in the country in terms of the levels of education attained. The median education level of Mississippi white males is in parity with the national measure (12.1). Black males, however, have a median educational level that is less than seven years (6.5), compared to a high school median for white counterparts. The 6.5 years median education level of black males in Mississippi is the lowest in the nation.

TABLE 7

MEDIAN EDUCATION LEVELS, PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER,
UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	MALES	FEMALES
United States	12.1	12.1
South	11.2	11.4
Mississippi	10.4	10.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 8

MEDIAN YEARS EDUCATION, MALE POPULATION AGE 25 AND OVER,
BY RACE, UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
United States	12.1	12.1	9.4
South	11.2	11.8	8.2
Mississippi	10.4	12.1	6.5

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Mississippi, as in other educational measures,¹² has made tremendous improvement in the proportion of its population with a high school education. The proportion of black residents with a high school diploma increased by 360% (from 4.1% to 14.9%) between 1950 and 1970. The percentage of white population who had finished high school increased from about one third (33.7%) in 1950 to more than 50% in 1970.

TABLE 9

PERCENT POPULATION* HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES,
UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1950 AND 1970

	1970	1950
United States	52.3	33.4
South	45.1	25.9
Mississippi	41.0	21.4

*Age 25 and over.

Source: 1970, U.S. Census of Population, 1970 1950 J.V.D. Saunders, et al., Mississippi's Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, (Mississippi State College, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 6, 1957), p. 66.

Racial Differences in Education

The educational levels of Southern blacks has been low relative to whites everywhere and to nonwhites outside the South.¹³ A number of observers have highlighted factors which have functioned to depress the educational levels of nonwhites. These range from the inadequate provision of facilities and differential accessibility to various incentive measure such as cultural differences in attitudes toward deferred gratification and achievement and the belief that prejudice limits the advancement of nonwhites.¹⁴

In 1970, 41% of the Mississippi population age 25 and over had graduated from high school (Table 10). The proportion of white high school graduates (52.6) had almost attained parity with the national norm (54.4). However, the percentage of the State's black population age 25 and over who were high school graduates was slightly less than 15%, making Mississippi the lowest ranking State in the nation in this regard. The low proportion of high school graduates among blacks in Mississippi reflects, 1) the historical deprivation of blacks in terms of educational facilities, access, and opportunity, and 2) the racial interstate migration patterns wherein there has been a long standing pattern of net out-migration of younger and more educated blacks to other States.⁵ Furthermore, the educational composition of Mississippi in-migrants may have had some influence on the close to the national proportion of the white population having at least a high school education.

TABLE 10

PERCENT HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE* BY RACE AND
SEX, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	MALES	FEMALE	WHITE	BLACK
United States	52.3	51.9	52.8	54.5	31.4
Mississippi	41.0	40.3	41.5	52.6	14.9

*Age 25 and over.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

School Dropouts

School dropouts have generally been regarded as a social problem of major proportions. Observation of how poorly dropouts compared with graduates in employment and income lead many to conclude that prevention of dropouts would greatly lower the incidence of pathologies which characterized many of the dropouts. A fatal error of such comparisons is a failure to control other present and often more influential variables.

More careful studies have shown that very little of the comparatively disadvantaged position of dropouts in the job market can be attributed to their lack of formal education. Because of differences in race, class, and personal characteristics, attitude, and outlook, the graduates would have earned more whether or not they attended college. Dropouts tend to be persons with below average job prospects even if they remain in school. Recent studies have also indicated that the income and employment differentials between high school graduates and dropouts is surprisingly small.¹⁶

Perhaps the best measure of comparative educational quality is performance on educational tests. The poor performance of Southern potential draftees on the Selective Service mental tests is an indicator of "deficiencies in the Southern educational system as well as cultural deprivations."¹⁷ In 1971, Mississippi ranked first in percentage disqualifications for failures on the Selective Service mental examination. The proportion of failures in Mississippi (21.1%) was over five times greater than the national average (3.9%). This measure has been regarded as a sufficiently significant indicator of deprivations associated with poverty populations that it was a component of the requisite community data in CAP applications.¹⁸ The Coleman Report, which involved the examination of a battery of skills and subject areas, indicated that "the average Southern rural black graduates from high school with what amounts to eight grade training in the Northeast." Furthermore, the Coleman Report concluded that "no Southern student group (except perhaps urban whites) enters the world beyond the school

with a record of educational achievement that approaches, much less matches, the level elsewhere.¹⁹

The Coleman study began with a focus on differences between black and white school facilities on the assumption this was related to student achievement, but ended with conclusions that challenge traditional notions of the relative influence of school-related and socio-economically related factors on student achievement.²⁰ The data did not support any indication of a relationship between the physical or fiscal characteristics of schools and student achievement. The report indicates that for blacks the relative equality of Southern school facilities with those in other parts of the country adds less to student achievement than does the relative inferiority of the teachers (as measured by verbal activity) in them. The results of the Coleman study also indicated that differences in family background account for more variation in the achievements of white and black children than differences in school facilities.²¹

Education as an Anti-Poverty Tool

Education is a major tool in efforts to break the poverty cycle and to keep poverty from being perpetuated from generation to generation. Low education is a product - and in turn a producer - of poverty and unemployment.²² However, it is easy to misconstrue the role of education as an explanatory factor in accounting for a greater incidence of poverty among a population group. Marshall and Christian have pointed out that while educational differences appear, on the surface, to explain a large part of the disequal status of the black population, this is hardly supassing in that education, as much or perhaps more than any single variable, captures discrimination in all forms - schools, housing, income, and school activities which influence aspirations and attitudes-- and is therefore highly associated with statistical measures of Negro disadvantage. The fact that a variety of discriminatory forces are concentrated in the educational system makes it unlikely that improvement can be accomplished through education alone.²³

Educational Outlays and Expenditures

The rising productivity and income of the Southern region has made possible an immense program of educational expansion since World War II. By 1973, yearly appropriations for capital outlay were approximately equal to the total value of school property at the end of World War II. Southerners adherence to the national faith in educational expansion as a means to prosperity and well-being "showed in their willingness to carry an unusually heavy financial burden in terms of the ratio of expenditure per pupil to the total wealth of the region."²⁴ In 1968, for example, Mississippi, with the lowest per capita income, spent approximately 6.3 percent of it on public schools. Connecticut, with the nation's highest per capita personal income, spent only 4.6 percent of it on public schools. Mississippi's current expenditure per pupil in

1940 was only 30% of the national average. By 1974, the current expenditure per pupil in Mississippi had increased more than 3,000% (Table 11), and was 70% of the national average.

TABLE 11

SOUTHERN SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS 1974, 1971 AND CURRENT
EXPENDITURES PER PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPIL, 1940, 1974

	Public elementary and high schools		Current expenditures per public school pupil		
	1971 (Thousand)	% change since 1940	1940	1974	% Change
Alabama	821	+21	\$31	\$ 716	2,210
Arkansas	460	-1	21	773	2,763
Florida	1,570	+325	58	1,041	1,695
Georgia	1,136	+54	34	869	2,456
Louisiana	874	+85	51	978	1,818
MISSISSIPPI	545	-8	25	787	3,048
North Carolina	1,198	+35	40	900	2,150
South Carolina	649	+35	856	856	2,418
Tennessee	936	+44	38	759	1,879
Texas	2,812	+112	60	809	1,248
Virginia	1,110	+95	44	983	2,134
United States	--	--	82	1,120	1,266

Source: Charles P. Roland, The Improbable Era: The South Since World War II, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 99-114.

In 1970 - 1971, Mississippi spent \$521 per pupil in public schools, compared with \$1,370 for New York. However, Mississippi residents, who have traditionally ranked among the highest if not the highest States in terms of the proportionate amount of State and local taxes allocated to public education (9.3% of personal income in Mississippi and 7.5% in New York) devoted a higher proportion of available income to education.

Tables 12 and 13 show numerical and percentage changes in public school enrollment, attendance, personnel, and expenditure data for Mississippi public schools for the periods 1962-1963 and 1973-1974. During this period enrollment decreased by 61,530 (-11.5%), and average daily attendance decreased by 31,664 (6.5%). Staff and instructional personnel increased by 33% and 28% respectively.

Expenditures per pupil in Mississippi public schools increased by 265% between 1962-1963 and 1973-1974. Average salaries for public school superintendent's more than doubled (+110%) and the average salary

TABLE 12

ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE, STAFF AND INSTRUCTIONAL PERSONNEL
PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MISSISSIPPI, 1962-63, 1973-74

YEAR	Enrollment	% Change	Average Daily Attendance	% Change	Staff Personnel	% Change	Instructional Personnel	% Change
1962-63	534,667		483,581		33,819		20,443	
1973-74	596,197	-11.5	515,245	-6.5	45,041	+33.2	26,217	

Source: Smith Sparks, Statistical Data 1973-74, (Jackson, Mississippi State Department of Education, Division of Administration and Finance).

TABLE 13

EXPENDITURE DATA, PUBLIC SCHOOLS
MISSISSIPPI, 1962-63 - 1973-74

YEAR	Expenditure Per Pupil	% Change	Superintendents Average Salary	% Change	Average Salary Instructional Personnel	% Change	Public School Expenditure (millions)	% Change
1962-63	212.70		8,105.19		3,674.03		133	
1973-74	777.00	+267	16,988.53	+110	8,337.00	+127	423	+218

Source: Same as table 12.

for instructional personnel increased by 127%. Total public school expenditures increased by 218% from \$133 million to \$423 million from school year 1962-1963 to 1973-1974 (Table 13). During 1972 - 1975, "The salaries for Mississippi teachers were increased by 48% to an annual average of \$9,314."²⁶ Expenditures per pupil, often regarded as a basic index of "quality" education, were raised by circa 34%.²⁷

Measuring Educational Quality

It all too frequently happens that educational quality is assumed to be equated with dollar expenditure per pupil, instructional expense, or similar measures of input. A frequently corollary is the assumption that the answer to any alleged educational deficiency lies in a large capital outlay. The weight of the hard research evidence, however, seems overwhelming that once a basis of adequacy is reached there is little if any cost-quality relationships in the schools. The Coleman report, based on the most extensive study of public schools ever undertaken, has already been mentioned as documenting an absence of relationship between variation in school fiscal and human resources and student achievement.²⁸ The Jencks study confirmed Coleman's finding of greater variation within schools than among systems classified by various input measures. Jencks and associates found that everything-- school budget, teacher profiles, social policies-- are all secondary or irrelevant to the basic explanatory variable-- the characteristics of attending children. Similarly, dozens of class-size studies have provided other data which factually challenges the averments between class size, instructional costs, pupil expenditures, and similar input measures and alleged educational success. The hard data has revealed more differences within educational units than between units classified on the basis of economic expenditures and other input factors.²⁹

There is no question but that basic skills in communication and information processing are necessary to maximize one's chances to capitalize on formal education or other training. On the other hand, the many extensive experiments over the last decade³⁰ have taken any presumption of validity out of the assumption that increased expenditures per se for educational salaries, services, or facilities will be of significant direct or trickle down value on the ability of the poor to achieve a better economic or social status.³¹ Blanket endorsement of more liberal funding for educational enterprises-- whatever their merit or desirability otherwise-- cannot be entertained on the promise of a significant contribution to the alleviation of poverty. Horton and Leslie summarize the findings of studies which assessed the relationship between educational quality and increased expenditure:

..... there is no convincing evidence that, beyond a certain point, increased school expenditures bring any substantial improvement in educational outcome. Just where this point of vanishing returns is located is not clear; what is clear is that pouring more money into the existing school system is likely to show disappointing results. Much of the money will be wasted on uses that are educationally unproductive. It will bring prettier school building to some areas, and will bring to teachers higher salaries, but it is unlikely that any substantial gains in learning will follow.³²

Education and the Reduction of Poverty and Inequality

Free public education is regarded as a powerful redistributive force both in the short run for parents and later through its influence on earnings.³³ However, the effective amount and the direction of the redistribution are debatable issues. Morgan's analysis indicated that the poor relatively benefit from free public education in the sense that the tax structure is such as to result in a net transfer to the poor.³⁴

On the other hand, a growing number of critics maintain that the educational system has not operated to foster upward mobility of low status persons and groups. They assert that the educational system has perpetuated inequality by socializing children for status roles based on sex and class.³⁵ Greer contends that economic success is the predecessor rather than the result of educational success for disadvantaged population groups.³⁶ Milner doubts that either public school expenditures or college studies and programs will have influence on the class structure.³⁷ He agrees with Jencks and others that "poverty and inequality cannot be greatly changed by educational approaches no matter what the school system does."³⁸

There seems to be little question but that the redistributive effect of higher education is from the poor to those who would be relatively well off even without the education.³⁹ Friedman has described this redistribution as "taxing the people of Watts to send the children of Beverly Hills to college."⁴⁰

The extensive government subsidization of higher education through direct transfers from earners to educational institutions and activities is accepted public policy. Consequently, the direction of this redistribution is of considerable significance. As Naylor and Clotfelter have pointed out, at the least "states should see that students who are not going on to higher education should not pay an unwarranted amount in taxes to those who do."⁴¹ Friedman has observed that low-income tax payers and youngsters not in college are much less effective than students and professors in presenting a case for increased state expenditures on education. The subsidy to students enrolled in State colleges (difference between tuition and actual cost) is only partially returned through taxes on the increased income they receive. The greater part is paid by the rest of the public, including citizens least positioned to take advantage of higher education. Friedman's suggested policy is:

It is eminently desirable that every youngster, regardless of his or his parent's income, social position, residence, or race, have the opportunity to get higher schooling - provided he is willing to pay for it either currently or out of the higher income the schooling will enable him to earn. There is a strong case for providing generous loan funds in order to assure

opportunity to all. There is a strong case for disseminating information about the availability of such funds and for urging the underprivileged to take advantage of the opportunity. There is no case for subsidizing those who get higher schooling at the expense of those who do not.⁴²

One popular justification for the extensive public investment in higher education is that it will expand educational opportunity and decrease inequality. Although such arguments are widely voiced and accepted, the plain fact as suggested by Staff and Tullock is that "higher education increases inequality. College professors are engaged in assisting those who are well off to exploit the poor."⁴³ While some altered admission and scholarship policies have provided direct enticement to persons of targeted categories, this does not alter the fact that "the middle classes benefit greatly from the institution and that, in general, the poor lose."⁴⁴

Higher education normally increases the degree of inequality. Those persons of poor parentage receiving compensatory scholarships are generally those who, though coming from poor families, have enough capital in the form of human talent to do very well in life anyway. Consequently, the subsidization which is received is principally a gift to the parents.⁴⁵ Higher education is a good example of the phenomenon that "redistribution of income in democracies characteristically takes the form of shifts back and forth within the middle income groups who control the bulk of political power and taxable capacity."⁴⁶

Necessity for Salable Skills

Salable skills are clearly requisite for earning an income that puts an individual above the poverty line. Equality of opportunity should be provided for all individuals. All persons irrespective of class, income, or even age, should have the opportunity to take advantage of as much education as they desire, including higher education. And lower middle class persons, minorities, the disadvantaged and socio-economically deprived, should have equal opportunity with others to pursue higher education at community colleges and universities and to qualify for professional and graduate degrees.⁴⁷ It should be distinctly recognized, however, that expenditures for higher education have the net effect of being "a transfer of funds which injures most of the poor."⁴⁸

The efficacy of a college education for the elimination of poverty would also seem diluted by the fact that the educational institutions are turning out more graduates than there are positions which can utilize the educational levels attained. Also, any consideration of the role of education in making a comparative contribution to raising the position

of the disequalized must recognize that scholarships to selected representatives of categorical or deprived populations makes little if any overall contribution (irrespective of the selected individuals who are thus given an opportunity to enhance a lifetime stream of income which would have exceeded that of their less gifted peers anyway) to the reduction of overall disadvantages of the deprived. Where there are limited enrollments in professional schools which allow only selected admittance, this individual gain must be balanced against the losses to other disadvantaged categorical minorities and individuals of lower-middle or upper-lower class (the working poor, if not the hard core welfare poor) of equivalent ability and ambition who are not selected to receive support, and are thus denied opportunity for achievement.

INCREASING EDUCATIONAL RETURNS AND EFFICIENCY

A number of the scared cows of educational faith have been gored by the realities of experience, hard data, and changing social circumstances. There is increasing recognition of the invalidity of the belief that increased funding solves most educational deficiencies, or that social and personal benefits are a necessary derivative of expanded education enterprises. The direction, as well as the wisdom and practical effects of increased expenditures are open to serious challenge. Following is a brief synopsis of some of the possible directions which might be taken within the realm of education in attempting to make education more serviceable, applicable, and responsive to broad society needs, particularly the interests of the poor.

Deschooling

The fact that education is often an indicator of skills in specified tasks is extensively used as a method of classifying individuals. However, there is increasing concern that educational credentialing more often than necessary functions as an access barrier to the disadvantaged rather than as a legitimate indicator of qualification.⁴⁹ A number of studies have reported that formal education requirements have proved irrelevant to job performance even in areas in which there was pressure for occupants to improve themselves educationally and/or to raise educational barriers above the level of persons already performing the activity successfully. Critics have observed that increased and often inapplicable formal education requirements seem to be motivated as much by a desire to screen out competition and raise the community image of a vocation (particularly noticeable in the efforts of vocational enterprises such as nursing, teaching, and social work) into that of a legitimate profession with corresponding income and other accouterments and deferences. Educationists have been accused of favoring such developments because of the built-in educational needs which must be met by programs, professors, and educational plants as individuals who wish to enter into that area of occupational endeavor find that subjection to the formal education process is required at ever higher levels.

The poor and disequalized as well as the society at large would seem to benefit from critical rethinking of the actual skills and learning required for adequate job performance. Unnecessary barriers, credentialing, and educational requirements should be ameliorated wherever appropriate.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

There seems to be near universal agreement on the necessity for public education to teach marketable skills as opposed to preparing some students for more education and alienating the rest. To the extent that improved education for the disadvantaged is a hope for breaking the poverty cycle, it must open the door to career opportunities either directly to jobs or to additional schooling leading to the professions.

Vocational education has too frequently been a residual program to occupy those students not desiring to go to college or restricted to "shop" for boys and a home economics program for girls. Given the increased difficulty college graduates find in obtaining jobs, it is likely that good vocational - career education programs would be of value to a large porportion of high school students.

The Committee for Economic Development has underscored the importance of the opportunity to learn marketable skills if the disadvantaged are to have the chance to improve their economic status:

Judged by hard economic facts, job training is the only program for the disadvantaged which has proved its value in terms of dollar costs. Job training and retraining have produced as much as a ten dollar return to society for every dollar spent. No other special or compensatory education program for the disadvantaged can claim a ratio that even approaches one to one .⁵⁰

The need for remedial training, including training to update or replace obsolecent skills, stems in part from deficiencies of the existing system in meeting career education needs, in part from the reduction of unskilled jobs, in part from blockages to free entry into occupations (such as those requiring union certification or other credentialing), and in part from the changing needs of employers in a changing economy. A combined improvement in the career education component of public school education and continuing education for the adult and aged population would seem to be in order.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

The most neglected school-age population in the South is the one that includes those children with abnormalities that require different or

additional educational services from the normal child. Perhaps the absence of economic futurism of such children does not give the pragmatic economic incentive to the public which underlies uncritical support for public education and has played the leading role in the cooperation among State legislatures, local authorities, and tax payers for programs of educational expansion.⁵¹ The idea that public education is a right of abnormal children to an equivalent education has been slow to take hold. In 1971, Mississippi was estimated to have 100,000 school age children in need of special education who were not getting it.⁵²

EDUCATIONAL CREDITABILITY

The increased educational attainment and the necessity for educational credentials to avoid undersirable status categories and to be considered for desired statuses has been reflected in a widely acknowledged change in performance standards and evaluation procedures.⁵³ Many of the poor have been victimized by an "education" which gives its graduates a "diploma which some of the recipients can't even read"⁵⁴ or leaves them devoid of salable or marketable skills.

EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS

A recent survey indicated that 20% of American adults lack the knowledge and skills necessary to function at a reasonably successful level in such matters as making change, reading job notices, shopping, or addressing an envelope. Less than half of the adult population was judged proficient in routine matters of consumer economics. The study's project director concluded that contemporary education is fairly adequate in preparing students for more education, but it is deficient in preparation for everyday life. Some "major rethinking" about what is being taught at elementary and high school levels was recommended, including a reconsideration of the requirements for high school graduation.⁵⁵

ALTERNATIVE EDUCATION

Many educators are coming to conclude that forcing physically mature persons to remain in school against their will may well do more harm than good. Learning skills may be facilitated for some persons outside of the artificial work situation of the classroom. Some have suggested that compulsory school attendance beyond a certain age (like 12 or 14) be replaced by a compulsory educational program which might take place in a variety of settings-- home study courses, on the job training programs operated by businesses, night schools, and split work-study programs.

EXPANDED USE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION FACILITIES

The investment in public school facilities could in many instances present a large return to the communities by expanded use for educational and social service programs. Furthermore, the public school facilities

should be utilized for expanded adult education programs that "may include everything from basic literacy courses of high school level to courses necessary to receive a diploma, vocational training, and continuing education." The proprietary attitude toward restrictive use of schools and school property could be properly replaced by the "lighted school" concept of opening schools around-the-clock around-the-year for activities by other groups. 56

Similarly, it should be recognized that opportunity for utilization of educational facilities is a lifelong one rather than one restricted to younger age groups. Vocational, avocational, and general purpose education for adults should be recognized as a major educational responsibility, and facilities should be utilized to the fullest extent possible congruent with the aims of lifelong education as opposed to the notion that education continues only through adolescence and then ends.

TAX POLICIES WITH ENABLING EDUCATIONAL INCENTIVES

A major problem facing middle or low income families which must finance the education of its children through its own out-of-pocket expenditures is that of expense. Convenient access to public junior colleges and decentralized branches of State universities has made education more accessible for many persons. However, the student's cost of attending college are continually moved upward. Costs for the 1975-1976 academic year were expected to increase by 12% at public colleges and 9% at private institutions over the previous year. Tuition costs for commuter students at community colleges are expected to be several thousand dollars by 1980. 57

Perhaps the most direct and beneficial step that could be taken to enable interested persons of low and moderate income to take advantage of educational opportunities would be to provide a tax credit for tuition expenditures. This would allow those persons who could not otherwise afford to make educational investments to do so without the necessity of direct subsidization (thus maximizing individual autonomy of choice). This is possibly the single most apparent step that could be taken by the State to affirm a commitment to educational opportunity. It would also provide a rather direct method by which consumers could signal providers of the type and kinds of education desired. Rather than a redistribution program with attendant administrative costs and inequities of allocation, a tax credit for educational expenses in the form of tuition payments to higher education would be self-distributing in that real returns would be realized by those taking advantage of the opportunity to obtain additional or extended education.

A VOUCHER PLAN FOR ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

A voucher system has been proposed as a potential solution to problems of school control, parental and ethnic group powerlessness, and relevance to socio-economic, cultural and ethnic preferences and interests. Proponents, particularly in urban areas, partly as an expression of "black power" and partly as a reaction to huge impersonal educational bureaucracies,

have viewed educational vouchers as a means of escaping racist discrimination and giving the poor effective participation in resolving educational issues.⁵⁸

In essence, this method would involve the state giving direct grants to students in the form of vouchers which could be used to pay for educational tuition. All state aid for instruction would go to students rather than to institutions. At the collegiate levels, a graduated voucher system based on personal and/or family income would insure that more affluent students would bear more of the cost of their education, freeing aid for poor students. It would force providers to become comparatively student oriented, as well as meet objection to the present system of financing education through state subsidization of institutions. Naylor and Clotfelder suggest that "what is needed is not subsidies for the status quo, but incentives for higher education institutions to upgrade quality and extend opportunity."⁵⁹

CAPITAL INVESTMENT

Naylor and Clotfelder state that in Mississippi and other States where the ratio of expenditure for capital outlay exceeds the national figure the "school dollar has been spent for the construction of new facilities at a questionable rate."⁶⁰ The Coleman and Jencks reports and other assessments have lead to a serious questioning of the policy propriety of heavy investments in education. These reports "should give pause to those school boards in the South that have poured resources into capital investment at above the national rate when these same resources could be devoted to the strengthening of factors found to influence student achievement more directly."⁶¹

At the post-high school level, the need to provide sufficient community colleges to make education beyond high school "easily available to all who can benefit from it, or who are willing to pay for it" through provision of community colleges or technical institutions within commuting distance of most students notwithstanding,⁶² Levitan has pointed out that "it is not at all clear that society will be served by continued expansion of college facilities." He emphasizes the need of the poor for remedial education and vocational education in order to compete effectively for gainful employment and the creation of adequate training facilities for those who are sufficiently motivated to acquire new skills.⁶³

SUMMARY

In general, education is positively associated with income. Although Mississippi has made tremendous improvements in the direction of national averages with respect to formal education attained by the population, the black population of Mississippi is among the most disadvantaged population groups in the country in terms of levels of education attained.

The trend toward more schooling for everybody has been matched by the faith that more education is what everybody needs. A related notion has been the belief that pouring additional funds into the school system offered low-income children a way to escape their plight. However, experience has demonstrated that "education as an answer to poverty" is less than an adequate remedy. Among the suggestions considered for making education more responsive to and serviceable for the needs of the poor are deschooling, vocational training, special education, educational creditability, rethinking of educational emphasis, alternative education, expanded use of public facilities, a voucher plan for educational financing, and tax policies with enabling educational incentives.

1. E. Nolan Waller, "Education: Some Rewards and Considerations" "Mississippi Business, 34 (August 1975), p. 1.
2. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1974), p. 882.
3. James Morgan, et al., Income and Welfare in the United States, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1962), p. 447.
4. James E. Wall, Influential Factors Concerning Human Resources in Mississippi, (State College: Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center Preliminary Report No. 11, 1966), P. 1.
5. Roger A. Freeman, The Growth of American Government, (Stanford, California, Hoover Institution Press, 1975), p. 14.
6. Thomas Naylor and James Clotfelter, Strategies for Change in the South, (New York: Scribners, 1975), p. 77.
7. Charles H. Anderson, The Political Economy of Social Class, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 99.
8. Since the arithmetic sum of lifetime earnings overstates the present value of an individual, discounting (converting the stream of earnings into its present value) is employed to measure the economic value over a period of time. Social Security Administration, Research and Statistics Note, "1972 Lifetime Earnings by age, sex, race, and education level," note No. 14 (September 30, 1975), p. 3.
9. Waller, pp. 2-5.
10. Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of American Youth, 1974," p. 23, No. 51 (April 1975), p. 7.
11. R. Hauser and D. Featherman, Equality of Access to Schooling: Trends and Prospects, (University of Wisconsin, Center for Demography and Ecology, Working Paper 75-17), n.d.
12. See Appendix for 1960 - 1970 comparison of median education by sex, race, and residence.
13. Ford has pointed out that if education is to play a role in regional development, then the area that incurs the costs of the education must receive some return from the education provided within its borders. When the industrial infrastructure of a region is such that increased educational levels are not utilized within the borders and the area is one of net out-migration of the more educated, then the consequences of the education will be perverse for the region in question in that it incurs the cost of education but incurs no significant return except in the expenditures to support providers.

Arthur Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South, (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1973), p. 63. The heavy out-migration of young adult blacks in Mississippi, likely selective of the comparatively educated, seems due to "over-population in the agricultural sector and lack of an urban-industrial growth which provides job opportunities for nonwhites." Ellen S. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," Mississippi Farm Research, 34 (December, 1971), p. 6. Cf.: Calvin L. Beale, "Rural-Urban Migration of Blacks: Past and Future," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 53 (May, 1971). At best, some caution is suggested in equating increased educational expenditures with area economic development without considering who ultimately benefits from the use of the education. Ford, p. 63.

14. W.L. Hansen, et al., "Schooling and Earnings of Low Achievers," American Economic Review, 60 (June, 1970); G.G. Bachman, "Anti-Dropout Campaign and other Misanthropies," Society, (March, 1972); J. Whisenton and M. Loree, "A Comparison of the Values, Needs, and Aspiration of School Leavers with those of Nonleavers," Journal of Negro Education, 39 (Fall, 1970), pp. 325-332.
15. F. Ray Marshall and V. L. Christian, "Human Resources Development in the South," in H. B. Ayers and Thomas Naylor (ed.) You Can't Eat Magnolias, (New York: McGraw Hill), p. 250.
16. Morgan, p. 361.
17. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 81.
18. 5.3.6. Selective Service, Office of Economic Opportunity, Application for Community Action Program, CAP Form 5, p. 2. Cf: Richard Neufville and Caryl Conner, "How Good are our Schools?" American Education, (October, 1966), p. 4.
19. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 81.
20. Susan Stodoksky and Gerald Lesser, "Learning Patterns of the Disadvantaged," Harvard Educational Review, 37 (1967), p. 582.
21. James Coleman, "Equal Schools for Equal Students," Public Interest (July, 1966), p. 73.
22. Wilbur J. Coher, "Education and Learning," Annals, 373, (September 1967), p. 89.
23. Marshall and Christian, p.
24. Charles R. Roland, The Imporable Era; The South World War II, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 97-100.
25. Paul P. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 307.
26. The Challenge to Change, 1975, p. 21.

27. Ibid.
28. James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, (DHEW, 1966).
29. Christopher Jencks, et al., Inequality, A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, (New York: Basic Books, 1972).
30. Roger A. Freeman, The Growth of the American Government, (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1975), p. 15.
31. Illustrative reports include: Office of Economic Opportunity, An Experiment in Performance Contracting, (Washington: OEO Pamphlet 3400-5, 1972): Sol Gordon, "The Bankruptcy of Compensatory Education," Education and Urban Society, 2 (August, 1970), pp. 366-370; John F. Cauley, et al., "Performance of Head Start and Non-Head Start Participants at First Grade," Journal of Negro Education, 39 (Spring, 1970), pp. 124-131.
32. Horton and Leslie, p. 312. It might also be pointed out that larger government spending on education does not necessarily result in higher total spending for education. Milton Friedman, There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch, (LaSalle, Illinois, Open Court, 1975), p. 264.
33. Free public education is misnomer in the sense that education is an extremely costly commodity that is a major portion of the budget of local governments. Public education is "free" in the sense that the student himself, expecting miscellaneous fees and charges, does not pay a tuition. Whether such a system is less costly of more efficient educationally than a system of proprietary schools which pay taxes to the community is open to question. The debatable question of who benefits from public education transfers-- the rich or the poor-- is briefly discussed in this chapter.
34. Morgan, et al., p. 308.
35. R. C. Grist, "Social Class and Teacher Expectation: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," Harvard Educational Review, 40 (August, 1970), p. 411-454.
36. Colin Greer, The Great School Legend, (New York: Basic Book, 1972).
37. Murray Milner, The Illusion of Equality, (Jossey-Bass, 1972).
38. Horton and Leslie.
39. Robert J. Staff and Gordan Tullock, "Education and Equality," Annals, 409 (September, 1973), p. 125.
40. Barbara Shenfield, The Myths of Social Policy, (Rockford, Ill.: Rockford College, 1975), p. 21.
41. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 120.

42. Fredman, pp. 261-262.
43. Staff and Tullock, p. 126.
44. Ibid., p. 127.
45. As Staff and Tullock pointed out, the poverty or well-being of the parents is frequently confused with the well-being of the student himself. The point is made in West's paper "Efficiency versus Equity in Higher Education," of a physician whose income had a present value of about one million dollars, who pointed out that subsidization of his education was justified because his father was an agricultural laborer. Quite so, but "it is not clear why the class status of the father is relevant in determining whether or not this physician should have been given a gift by the state that generated one million dollars of wealth." Staff and Tullock, p. 127.
46. Ibid., p. 132.
47. Committee for Economic Development, Education for the Urban Disadvantaged from Preschool to Employment, (New York: CED, 1971), p. 15. Naylor and Clotfelter suggest that "Community colleges have become the primary vehicle for social and economic advancement for the lower two-thirds of the population" while the universities "cater to a relatively homogeneous group from a dominant stratum of society." p. 159.
48. Staff and Tullock, p. 127.
49. Illustrative of this concern has been effort among civil rights groups and poverty lawyers to eliminate discriminatory tests for hiring which are irrelevant to the jobs performed.
50. CED, Education for the Urban Disadvantaged, p. 44.
51. Naylor and Clotfelter, Strategies for Change in the South, p. 105, Roland, The Improbable Era, pp. 98-100, 118.
52. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 110.
53. "School Role in Poverty Contested," New York Times, (January 8, 1973), pp. 55-56.
54. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 121.
55. Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly, 6 (November, 1975), p. 5.
56. Horton and Leslie, p. 331.
57. Manpower and Vocational Education Weekly, 6 (April 7, 1975), p. 10.

58. For extensive discussion of "family poor equalizing" through a voucher system and its "subsidiarity" (pluralistic decision making in the interests of diversity and locality) see Joseph H. Cooper, "The Dollars and Sense of Public Education," Urban Lawyer, 6 (1974), pp. 138-163.
59. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 171.
60. Ibid., p. 110.
61. Ibid.
62. Committee for Economic Development, Raising Low Incomes Through Impaired Education, (New York: CED, 1965), p. 46.
63. Sar Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970's, (Baltimore: John Hopkins, 1973), p. 136.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

The close relationship between large families, unplanned births, and poverty is well documented. The adage of antiquity of "the rich man for money, the poor man for children" is a folk expression of the correlation between income, living standards, and reproductive behavior. Whether larger family size than is economically feasible for a particular couple (thus promoting a kind of self-inflicted deprivation which may or may not be an intentional trade-off as against other kinds of expenditures) is the causative agent, or whether poverty fosters a cultural attitude and outlook (a set of poverty related norms and values) which is conducive to high fertility levels is the causative agent, a definite relationship may be observed between poverty and family size.

In 1970, fewer than 9% of families with one or two children were in poverty, compared with 14% of families with three or four children and 30% of the families with five or more offspring. The 1972 Report of the Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future stated that at least 15% of all births between 1966 and 1970 were unwanted and 44% were unplanned. The incidence of unwanted births was greater for the lower income and less educated population. Low income blacks, in particular, were subjected to the spectre of unwanted increases in family size. Levitan has pointed out that "contrary to the widely held misconception that the poor have more children because they want them, a survey of women married between 1966 and 1970 indicated that economic status and race had little bearing on desired family size. All wanted approximately the same number of children, but the poor got more."¹ The misery of many families could have been prevented if means for birth control had been utilized. "The evidence is clear that limited access to birth control devices and family planning services has prevented women unable to afford medical care from exercising the same degree of choice as more affluent women."²

Table 1 shows the average number of related children for all income and poverty families in Mississippi in 1970 for different residential areas. First, the mean number of children is smaller for all income than for poverty families for each residential category of urban, rural farm, or rural nonfarm population. Secondly, rural farm fertility is greater than for the other residential areas. Thirdly, black fertility is higher than white fertility for all residential categories. The consistent theme, however, regardless of race or residential category, is the larger family size of poverty families. The relationship would doubtless be even more pronounced except for the large number of aged couples within the low income brackets.

Table 2 shows the percent of families with specified number of children below the poverty level. There is a consistent increase in percentage of poverty families as family size increases from 20.6 of

TABLE 1

AVERAGE NUMBER (MEAN) OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, AND INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, TOTAL AND NEGRO, BY AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RACE	STATE		URBAN		RURAL NONFARM		RURAL FARM	
	All Income	Pov.	All Income	Pov.	All Income	Pov.	All Income	Pov.
Total	2.62	3.51	2.44	3.28	2.75	3.62	2.88	3.70
Black	3.46	3.85	3.12	3.55	3.68	4.00	3.85	4.09

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

all families with one or more related children under 18 residing in the household. The pattern is consistent for both races, although the percentages are more pronounced for nonwhites irrespective of family size. Table 3 shows the percentage distributions for the total population by area of residence.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN SPECIFIED RESIDENTIAL AREAS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

AREA	TOTAL	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN	EIGHT OR MORE
State	30.8	20.6	21.3	29.6	43.4	59.3	72.3	73.4	76.7
Urban	23.9	16.5	16.3	22.6	36.1	52.9	65.1	66.3	68.8
Rural									
Nonwhite	35.8	23.7	25.0	34.7	48.7	63.1	77.2	76.8	78.8
Rural									
Farm	41.0	28.0	30.8	38.7	50.2	66.7	75.5	57.9	70.5
Jackson									
SMSA	21.4	13.6	13.6	20.1	35.3	52.9	64.5	57.9	70.5

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Two features of the interplay between poverty, fertility, and residence are readily apparent: 1) the percentage of families living in poverty shows a progressive increase with increased family size irrespective of residence (Table 2), and 2) the proportion of non-

poverty families shows a general decrease in the number of children (Table 3).

TABLE 3
PERCENT OF FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL BY SPECIFIED NUMBER
OF CHILDREN, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

FAMILY STATUS	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
No Related Children Under 18	26.0	19.3	49.3
With Related Children Under 18	30.9	13.5	63.6
1 Related Child	20.6	10.6	49.2
2 Related Children	21.4	10.6	55.3
3 Related Children	29.6	14.6	62.9
4 Related Children	43.4	21.5	71.1
5 Related Children	59.3	32.3	75.5
6 or More Related Children	74.3	42.1	80.2
All Families	29.0	16.0	59.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Looking at family size by 1969 median income, the progressive decrease in income with increased family size is apparent for the State and each residential category (Table 4). Table 4 shows the median income as a percentage of the median of two child families. There is a near consistent decrease with increased family size. Appendix tables provide additional data on the relationship between poverty and family size.

Whether measured by mean family income, percentage of families below the poverty level, or median income, there is a definite and pronounced relationship between low income, poverty, and family size. The data support the adage that "the rich get richer and the poor get children."

The Mississippi data reveal that the relationship between family size and poverty, while consistent for whites and blacks, is even more pronounced among blacks. While these relationships do not in themselves provide hard data as to excess fertility, they are consistent with studies which have shown that excess fertility is more severe among the poor. Whelpton and associates found in a national survey that among couples with excess fertility, those with incomes below \$3,000 expected more children than those with incomes below \$10,000 (4.2 vs. 3.9), but

TABLE 4

1969 MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF RELATED
CHILDREN UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
TOTAL	6.626	7.712	5 986	4.948
One	6.825	7.691	6.287	5.386
Two	7.608	8.695	6.838	XXXXX
Three	7.169	8.263	6.420	5.868
Four	6.024	6.923	5.437	4.573
Five	4.784	5.626	4.436	3.492
Six	3.656	4.349	3.472	3.152
Seven	3.763	4.523	3.588	3.041
Eight or More	3.429	4.120	3.343	2.933

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 5

MEDIAN INCOME BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 AS
PERCENTAGE OF MEDIAN OF TWO CHILD FAMILIES MISSISSIPPI, 1970

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	MEDIAN AS PERCENTAGE OF 7.608
Total	87.0%
One	89.8%
Two	100.0%
Three	92.3%
Four	79.2%
Five	62.9%
Six	48.1%
Seven	49.5%
Eight or More	45.0%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

they wanted fewer (2.5 vs. 3.1). Only 11% of the college educated fell into the excess fertility group (more children than desired), compared to 32 percent of those with a grade school education. Of all nonwhite couples, 32 percent were in the excess fertility category. The proportion of couples with excess fertility was highest among non-

whites living on farms in the South (nearly 48 percent). The authors concluded:

Lower status couples do not have more children than higher status couples simply because they want more.... If couples in all education and income groups were to use contraception equally well, there would only be small differences in average family size.... If the wife has a grade school education and the husband has an income of less than \$4,000 per year, then 39 percent have excess fertility. The judgement that their fertility is too high represents their own opinion.

The Mississippi data on the relationship between residence, income and family size are consistent with national data.⁴ To the extent national survey data are applicable to Mississippi, the conclusion of severe excess fertility (more offspring than desired by those having them),⁵ would seem quite applicable to the Mississippi population, particularly the poor.

One half of the nation's poor are in a family of five or larger. Excepting individuals living alone, most of whom are widows and widowers, "it may be said that the larger the family the greater the risk of poverty...."⁶ Ability of medically indigent women to control family size to desired limits would allow the poor to exercise the same degree of choice as more affluent persons.

American society has undergone a dramatic shift of opinion regarding birth control and government activity in family planning in recent decades. These changing attitudes have had their impact on presidents, congress, and the courts. President Eisenhower considered birth control a private matter inappropriate for public discussion or support. Before leaving office, however, he recognized the appropriateness of a collective response to the twin concern of population growth and the plight of the poor. Subsequent president's have strongly supported the right of the poor to space their children as desired.

Levitan has pointed out some of the positive effects of a reduced birth rate among the poor. Fewer children would be born into poverty, and fewer households would be driven into poverty because of unwanted children. An additional benefit is that children in smaller families are less likely candidates for a life of poverty than are children in larger families.

SUMMARY

Unwanted or unplanned births can keep a family from moving out of poverty or they can force a family into poverty. Additional births into poverty families can result in a vicious circle of dependency and

chronic poverty. Whether measured by mean or median family income or by percentage of families with incomes below the poverty level, there is a consistent relationship between poverty and family size. Mississippi data are in alignment with national data regarding poverty and family size, with the relationship being more severe for blacks than for whites. Reduced birth rates among persons who do not positively wish to have additional offspring carries a number of direct and indirect social and economic benefits.

1. Sar A. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970's, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, Press, 1973), p. 86.
2. Ibid.
3. P.K. Whelpton, et al., Fertility and Future Population in the United States, (Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 242-248.
4. J. Allan Beegle, 'Rural Fertility Differentials in the U.S. in 1960,' pp. 375-363, and F. J. Jaffee, "Family Planning and Rural Poverty and Approach to Programming of Services," in President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States, (Washington: USGPO, 1968), pp. 368-383.
5. Excess fertility as used in this report is taken to mean more children than desired by couples themselves, not from an outsider's judgment, withdrawing the concept from the realm of objective and/or subjective value judgment as to desired and/or appropriate family size.
6. Robert A. Liston, The American Poor, (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), p. 47.
7. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor, p. 88.

POVERTY AND FATHERLESS FAMILIES

The number of women in the United States who are heads of families increased by almost 2.4 million between 1955 and 1973 (from 4.2 to 6.6 million). The increase during 1970 - 1973 (1.1 million) almost equalled the increase during the entire 1960s (1.1 million).¹

This change in family composition has resulted in considerable theorizing and speculation by social scientists and welfare planners regarding the causes and implications of the changes in family structure. The effect of this composition on child development, personality, and emergent generations is also a subject of considerable research inquiry and interest. Whatever the etiological factors, the incidence of female headship is of direct concern in any comprehensive survey of poverty in an area.

Families headed by a female run a substantially greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families. While 24% of all poor children lived in fatherless families in 1959, this figure had climbed to 46% in 1970. Almost two poor families of every five in 1970 were headed by a female, compared to 23% in 1959. In terms of incidence, 34% of all female headed families were poor in 1970, compared to 7% of those families headed by a male.

In 1974 over one-half (54%) of the poor other than unrelated individuals lived in a female headed family (Table 1). The number of poor in a female headed family increased by 7.2% over 1973, compared to 4.6% for male headed families.

TABLE 1

POOR PERSONS BY FAMILY, SEX OF FAMILY HEAD,
UNITED STATES, 1973-1974

SEX OF HEAD	NUMBER OF POOR (thousand)		PERCENT CHANGE 1973 - 1974	PERCENT OF TOTAL 1973 - 1974	
	1973	1974			
Male Headed	2,635	2,757	+4.6%	54.6%	54.0%
Female Head	2,193	2,351	+7.2%	45.4%	46.0%
All Families	4,828	5,109	+5.8%	100%	100%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Money Income and Poverty Status of Families and Persons in the United States: 1974", Series P-60, No. 99, (July, 1975), p. 2.

Fatherless Families in Mississippi

Whereas 28.9% of all families in Mississippi in 1970 had incomes below the poverty level, 57.9% of the female headed families were poor (Table 2). For whites, 14.3% of the male headed families, contrasted to 33.7% of the female headed families, were poor. Over one-half of the male headed Negro families were poor (53.2%); over three-fourths of the female headed Negro families were poor (77.2%).

TABLE 2
PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW POVERTY LEVEL BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	POOR FAMILIES	
		WHITE	NON-WHITE
Total	28.9%	15.9%	59.2%
Male Headed	24.3%	14.3%	53.2%
Female Headed	57.9%	33.7%	77.2%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Nearly 87% of all families in Mississippi in 1970 were headed by a male compared to 73% of the poor families. Whereas 13.4% of all income families (Table 3), and only 7.9% of non-poor families were headed by a female, 26.9% of the poor families were female headed. Nearly one-third (32.7%) of the poor Negro families were headed by a female.

TABLE 3
ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD MISSISSIPPI, 1970

ALL FAMILIES	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	534,444	100.0	374,229	100.0%	159,070	100.0%
Male Headed	462,704	86.6%	342,544	91.5%	119,108	74.8%
Female Headed	71,740	13.4%	31,685	8.5%	39,892	25.1%
POOR FAMILIES						
Total	154,254	100.0%	59,525	100.0%	94,148	100.0%
Male Headed	112,683	73.1%	48,852	82.1%	63,348	67.3%
Female Headed	41,571	26.9%	10,673	17.9%	30,800	32.7%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Persons in Poverty by Sex of Head

Table 4 shows the distribution of the persons in poverty families according to the sex of the family head. Of the 681,754 Mississippians living in poverty families in 1970, nearly one half of this amount (48.6%) lived in a family headed by a Negro male. More than one fifth (21.6%) lived in families headed by a Negro female. Almost one-fourth (24.4%) lived in a family headed by a white male, while only 5% lived in families headed by a white female. By contrast, only 17.5% of all persons in families lived in a family headed by a Negro male.

TABLE 4

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES PERCENT OF TOTAL AND
PERCENT INCIDENCE BY FAMILY HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% INCIDENCE
Total ¹	681,754	100.0%	33.5
Male Headed	499,950	73.3%	28.5
Female Headed	181,804	26.7%	65.0

¹Includes Non-white other than Negroes

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

About one-fourth (26.7%) of all poor persons living in families lived in a female headed family (Table 4). Whereas 33.5% of all Mississippians living in families in 1970 were poor, almost two-thirds (65%) of those persons living in female headed families were poor.

Geographic Distribution of Fatherless Families

Table 6 shows the percentage distribution of fatherless families by geographic or residential distribution. The more frequent incidence of fatherless families is found in urban areas for both whites and blacks. For whites, nearly 10% of the families of all income levels were fatherless, compared to 7.9% and 5.4% for rural nonfarm and rural farm residents respectively. Over one-fourth (26.9%) of the white fatherless families in urban areas were poor in contrast to 16.1% and 7.3% respectively for the rural nonfarm and farm populations.

While the incidence of fatherless families is higher for Negroes than for whites in each geographic classification, the percentage of fatherless families for both all income levels (30.6%) and poor families (45.9%) is greater among urban than among rural non-farm and farm residents.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONS IN POVERTY FAMILIES, ALL INCOME FAMILIES,
AND NON-POVERTY FAMILIES BY STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD AND RACE
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

INCOME CATEGORY*	MALE HEADED		FEMALE HEADED	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Total Person in Poverty Families 681,754 (100%)	24.4	48.6	5.0	21.6
Total Persons in All Income Families 2,032,362 (100%)	58.0	27.9	4.7	9.0
Total Persons in Non-Poverty Families 1,350,608 (100%)	75.1	17.5	4.5	2.7

*Totals include small number of Spanish speaking persons.

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 48.6% of the persons living in poverty
families lived in families headed by a Negro male.

TABLE 6

PERCENT FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD, BY RACE AND RESIDENTIAL AREA
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Percent of Families Female Headed	TOTAL		URBAN		RURAL NON-FARM		RURAL FARM	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
All Income Levels	8.5	25.1	9.7	30.6	7.9	22.6	5.4	15.6
Poor	17.9	32.7	26.9	45.9	16.1	27.5	7.3	18.3

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

The differential incidence of female headed families in urban areas is likely the result of a combination of demographic, social, and economic factors. These would include, with varying degrees of intensity, the age composition of the populations in the different areas, economic

factors such as the differential employment potential for females, the nature of agricultural occupations which are not likely to be conducive to the location and/or retention of females heads of households in the rural farm population, migration patterns, and possibly to some degree may reflect differential cultural norms and values. It is quite possible that the contrast in the incidence of female headed households is muted somewhat by the age structure of the population.

Female Family Heads and Employment

In general, without the presence of mitigating circumstances, women who are heads of families may face peculiar handicaps in attempting to make an adequate living. The presence of minor children in the home may be an inhibiting factor. Discrimination against women with family responsibilities in hiring practices has been said to severely limit their chances for employment.² Frequently, female family heads are further disadvantaged by a lack of marketable skills and training, and swell the ranks of unskilled workers.³

Table 7 and 8 examine the employment patterns of heads of Mississippi families. The lowest percentage of employed family heads among Mississippians occurs among white female family heads of poor families (30.8%), compared to about 39% of the female heads of poor Negro families. Most revealing, however, is the observation that 69.3% of the employed female heads of Negro families are poor, compared to 44% of the employed male heads of Negro families.

TABLE 7

PERCENT OF FAMILY HEADS EMPLOYED, ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES,
BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
All Income Levels			
Male Head	77.6	80.5	69.4
Female Head	46.5	45.6	57.0
Poverty Families			
Male Head	51.9	50.4	43.4
Female Head	36.8	30.8	38.9

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Racial Distribution of Fatherless Families

In 1973, black women represented 28% of all female family heads in the United States and 35% of all black families. Between 1960 and 1973, there was a 10% increase in the number of white female family heads,

compared to a 35% increase in Negro family heads.⁴ The proportion of poor Negro families headed by a female increased from one-third to over one-half in the 1960s.⁵

TABLE 8

PERCENT OF EMPLOYED FAMILY HEADS WITH INCOMES BELOW
POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

SEX OF FAMILY HEAD	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Male Heads	16.6	8.1	44.0
Female Heads	46.0	12.9	69.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

All of the foregoing tables on the racial distribution of fatherless families are consistent with the national data which show a comparatively greater proportion of fatherless families among the non-white population. In Mississippi, nearly one-third of the poor black families were headed by a female in 1970 (compared to 18% for whites) while over two-thirds of the Negro fatherless families were poor (69.3%), compared to 13% for whites.

SUMMARY

The frequency of the incidence of poverty in Mississippi is much greater among female headed families. Of the total poor families in Mississippi, however, nearly three-fourths are headed by males, and only one-fourth are families of fatherless poor. Families headed by a female run a substantially greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families.

Almost two-thirds of all Mississippians living in female headed families in 1970 had 1969 incomes below the poverty level. A more frequent incidence of such families was found in urban than in rural areas. Over two-thirds of the employed female heads of black families were poor.

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Female Family Heads," Series P-23, No. 50 (July, 1974), p. 1.
2. President's Commission on Income Maintenance, Poverty and Plenty, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 30.
3. Paul Horton and Gerald Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, (McGraw-Hill, 1974), p. 346.
4. CPR Series, p. 23, No. 50, p. 1.
5. Daniel P. Moynihan, The Politics of a Guaranteed Income, (Random House, 1973), p. 37.

POVERTY AND HEALTH

Health is the result of the combined interaction of a variety of factors. Just as there is no universal way to define good health nor to measure it, neither is there any sure method of determining the relative contribution to its maintenance of factors like nutrition or housing or clean air or exercise or inheritance.¹ Whatever the combination of causative factors may be, there is no question but that good health is a prime foundation of a "good life."

Health and Poverty Interrelated

Ill health is possibly the greatest single cause of human suffering in modern society. It is doubtful that if any other single circumstance produces so much poverty, dependency, and economic inefficiency as illness. In an average day in the United States nearly two million persons of working age are unemployed because of disability, almost another million are absentees because of illness, and nearly one-fourth of the rest are working at less than full efficiency due to non-disabling illness.² The United States is now spending \$118.5 billion yearly, or \$547 per capita, for health services.³

There is no precise way to determine the degree to which poverty is the cause of ill health or the result of ill health. The fact is, poverty produces ill health, and ill health produces poverty. Practically every condition that produces ill health is most characteristic of the life circumstances of the poor.

The poor aged are particularly vulnerable. Old age often means increased medical need due to failing health, and increased cost because the more expensive services are required for treatment. The national per capita health expenditure of the aged is several times greater than it is for the younger population (Table 1). A study of the low income aged in a six county area in Mississippi indicated that more than half of the household's sampled had increased their spending for medical services, while income, generally, had declined.⁴

Illness and Poverty

Not only may ill health require unusual expenditures, but by reducing working capacity, vitally affects the primary source of family income. National data have suggested that from twenty to thirty percent of the AFDC and public assistance cases opened are opened because of loss of earnings due to illness, injury, or other impairment.⁵ A Census Bureau survey revealed that in 1970, 25 percent of the unemployed poor were unemployed due to illness or disability, compared to 12 percent of the nonpoor unemployed.⁶ Other studies on the relationship of income to

acute and chronic illness have shown that members of low income classes experience a higher rate of activity-limiting conditions in all age categories.⁷

TABLE 1
PERSONAL HEALTH EXPENDITURES BY AGE AND SOURCE OF FUNDS, UNITED STATES, 1972

ITEM	Total	Under 19	AGE	
			19-64	65 and Over
Per Capita (\$)	340	147	228	981
% Public	37.2	28.1	21.4	65.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1973, p. 300.

Table 2 shows the characteristics of males in Mississippi in 1970 who were disabled for six months or more in 1969 due to serious physical or mental illness, defect, or handicap. About 40 percent were severely handicapped educationally, and circa the same proportion were not members of the labor force at all. Over 60% had personally or lived in a family that had a yearly income of less than \$3,000, while 34.4% had incomes below the poverty level.

TABLE 2
WORK DISABILITY OF THE NONINSTITUTIONAL MALE POPULATION, AGE 16-64, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	% Under 8 years Ed.	% Income Under \$3,000	% Unable to work	Ratio of Income to Poverty Level*		
					Under .75	.75 to 1.00	Under 1.25
Work Disability of six months or more	80,179	39.8	62.0	42.3	30.8	39.4	48.3

*Family or unrelated income, percentages in table refer to percent of total in column 1.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi.

Illustrative Interpretation: 31% of the males disabled for 6 months or more had family or unrelated individual incomes of less than 75% of the poverty level.

Physical and emotional disabilities have negative influences on labor force participation, earning rates, and days available for employment. Studies have suggested that increasing limitation is positively associated with decreasing labor force participation, decreasing wages, and decreasing hours of work, even when factors such as age and education are taken into account. Furthermore, there is evidence that public transfers do surprisingly little to improve the economic level of living units containing disabled persons. Morgan *et al.*,⁸ on the basis of a national survey, concluded that although transfers compassed about one-third of the gross disposable income of living units containing a disabled person, their incomes as a group remained well below those of the non-disabled. They felt,

Neither is the outlook for the disabled particularly encouraging. The assets of the disabled fall far below those held by units with no disabled persons. Less than half the spending units containing disabled persons are covered by hospitalization insurance. In consequence, many of the disabled express attitudes which reflect discouragement about planning ahead and future improvements in their income situations.

Morgan and associates' conclusion that "while additional rehabilitation aid is sorely needed, the problem of optimum distribution remains perplexing"⁹, highlights an issue of great concern for social planners and a human need area that merits expanded consideration.

HEALTH MANPOWER AND UTILIZATION

Distribution of Health Manpower

There is no question but that a minimum level of medical facilities and manpower are absolutely necessary if health levels are to be maximally maintained. A "chronic shortage" of health manpower resources is often cited as a major barrier to improving health levels. While the reality of an actual "shortage" of facilities and personnel is open to debate, most observers agree that there is a definite maldistribution of health resources between regions as well as within States and cities. Rural counties, small towns, ethnic and low income enclaves in cities, are singled out as having comparative shortages of available facilities and services.¹⁰

Within Mississippi, the number of physicians per 1,000 population has been increasing for several decades (Table 3), showing a rapid

increase in the 1970s.¹¹ Nevertheless, the physicians per 1,000 population ratio in Mississippi in 1973 (94 active physicians per) compares to a national ratio of 161 (Table 4), giving Mississippi the lowest physician/population ratio of any State except South Dakota. Mississippi had the lowest dentist/population ratio of any State (26), and the lowest ratio of registered nurses (226) of all states except Arkansas.

TABLE 3
PHYSICIANS PER 1,000 POPULATION MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1970

	<u>1950</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
<u>PHYSICIANS</u>			
Total	66.5	77.2	82.9
Urban	147.7	144.7	150.5
Rural	35.1	36.4	29.3
<u>DENTISTS</u>			
	<u>1953</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Total	21.0	25.6	25.4
Urban	57.8	52.0	48.1
Rural	6.7	9.6	7.2

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health.

The percentage of rural physicians has shown a decline of from 35.1 per 1,000 population in 1950 to 29.3 in 1970. In 1971 over eighty percent of the State's physicians and dentists were practicing in urban areas.

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF ACTIVE PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, AND REGISTERED NURSES IN
1,000 POPULATION, MISSISSIPPIANS THE UNITED STATES, 1973

FUNCTION	NUMBER PER 1,000 POPULATION	
	United States	Mississippi
Physicians	161	94
Dentists	48	26
Registered Nurses	380	226

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, p. 74.

TABLE 5

RURAL - URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF PHYSICIANS AND DENTISTS,
MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1971

YEAR	PHYSICIANS*		DENTISTS*	
	% URBAN	% RURAL	% URBAN	% RURAL
1960	70.6	29.4	76.7	23.7
1971	81.1	18.9	83.0	17.0

*Per 1,000 population

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health.

Utilization of Health Services

To a considerable extent the less desirable health status of the poor suggested by most studies reflects more basic factors than the adequacy of health care services, such as nutrition, housing, sanitary practices, and exposure to infectious agents.¹² Horton and Leslie note that many of the "poor live in an environment filled with violence and hazard, where death or injury through assault, fire, accident, or environmental pollution is a constant threat. The poor and near-poor more often work at hazardous occupations. Finally, their access to medical care is limited in a number of ways."¹³

While the availability of health services is a basic factor, their actual utilization and effectiveness in meeting the medical needs of a population depends on a variety of personal, social and organizational features. The mere presence of medical manpower and facilities in a county or area does not itself render any evaluative insight into the efficiency with which the care is available nor the equity by which services are distributed. Efforts to improve the efficiency of health care systems are sometimes insufficient to reach members of lower socioeconomic groups who, due to inadequate knowledge, unequal purchasing power, and less self-sufficiency, may feel overwhelmed and unable to cope with the seemingly incomprehensible and alienating process of being subjected to medical care.¹⁴

Health services, even for persons with incomes above the poverty level, are often held to be characterized by depersonalization, disorganization, and inadequate emphasis on health counseling or preventive care. The patient can easily become lost in the maze, and "the less informed, the less educated, the poorer, the more disadvantaged, the more lost he is."¹⁵

The exact dimensions of differentials in the need for or the extent and kinds of health and medical services utilized by the poor in com-

parison with the population at large have not been definitively determined. Research studies in medical demography have yielded contradictory findings on the comparative utilization of health care facilities by the poor and minority groups.¹⁶ The greater presence of conditions that are amenable to treatment among these population sectors indicate that less adequate medical care also plays a significant role.¹⁷

VITAL STATISTICS

Examination of comparative vital statistics provides a revealing picture of the health level of a population at different points in time, or between different regions and population groups at the same time. Comparative measures of mortality, especially among infants and children, highlight pressing manifestations of ill health.

Birth and Death Rates

Although the birth rate in Mississippi, following the national trend, has decreased, it remains comparatively high. The Mississippi rate of 19.5 in 1973 was considerably higher than the national rate of 14.5 and was the highest of all States except Alaska.

TABLE 6
BIRTH AND DEATH RATES,
MISSISSIPPI AND OTHER STATES, 1973

	MISSISSIPPI	UNITED STATES
Birth Rate	19.5	14.5
Death Rate	10.5	9.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975.

Natality in Mississippi shows significant differentials by racial categories. The nonwhite birth rate has exceeded the white rate by significant differentials in recent years (Table 7). Other natality measures, as the fertility rate, illegitimacy rate, and children ever born show similar differentials (see Appendix 1). Higher fertility is correlated with less education and income.

The Mississippi death rate in 1973 was 10.5. Although this is close to the national rate (9.4), only six States and the District of Columbia

had higher death rates than Mississippi. Mississippi has the seventh highest death rate in the Nation.

TABLE 8
DEATH RATES* SELECTED YEARS,
MISSISSIPPI, 1913-1971

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1913	11.4	9.3	13.0
1920	12.3	19.3	15.1
1930	13.0	10.2	15.7
1940	10.6	8.6	12.6
1950	9.4	8.0	11.2
1960	10.0	8.9	11.4
1970	10.5	9.8	11.8
1971	10.6	10.0	11.5

*Number of deaths per year per 1,000 live births.

Source: 1931 - 1970, Vital Statistics, Mississippi, 1970 (Jackson, Mississippi State Board of Health), 1971: Unpublished data, Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

Infant, Neonatal, and Maternal Mortality

Infant, neonatal, and maternal mortality are regarded as primary measures of the health level of a population. For example, the infant death rate has been described as a social problem rather than a medical one in the sense that it is a vital indicator of the present and future well being of a population. The infant mortality rate in Mississippi has consistently exceeded the national rate. Nonwhite infant mortality has been and continues to be far greater than the white rate. Infant mortality, which is closely correlated with socio-economic conditions and cultural habits, is one of the strongest indicators of disadvantage among a population group.¹⁸

Nationwide, infant mortality rates are higher in isolated (relatively remote from any large urban center) and nonmetropolitan counties. Higher than national rates are generally found in states in the low and middle range of state per capita income. Similarly, maternal mortality has been found to be above the national average in isolated rural areas and small towns.¹⁰

There has been a long term decline in Mississippi's infant mortality rate (Table 9). This decline, which has been particularly noticeable

since 1966, coincides with the introduction of federal programs designed to improve the living conditions of the poor population. The Director of the Mississippi State Board of Health attributes the decreased mortality rate to the effect of rational child spacing and the implementation of "programs such as the Food Stamp Program and the Women, Infant and Children Project aimed at maternal and infant care for indigents."²⁰

TABLE 9
INFANT MORTALITY RATE* SELECTED YEARS
MISSISSIPPI, 1920-1971

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1920	80.0	59.9	101.1
1930	68.3	51.0	84.5
1940	54.5	46.4	60.9
1950	36.4	28.1	42.6
1960	41.5	26.2	54.4
1970	29.1	19.3	39.7
1971	23.2	15.5	31.8
1974	22.8	NA	NA

* Number of deaths of children under one year of age per 1,000 live births.

Source: 1920-1971, same as Table 8, 1974: Mississippi's Health, 18, (August, 1975).

Irrespective of the dramatic improvement, Mississippi continues to have the highest infant mortality in the nation. This is due to the high infant mortality among nonwhites (Table 10). The white mortality rate has been brought into fairly close to alignment with the national rate.

TABLE 10
INFANT MORTALITY RATE, WHITE AND OTHER
RACES, MISSISSIPPI, 1973

MISSISSIPPI		UNITED STATES	
WHITE	OTHER	WHITE	OTHER
17.0	35.6	15.8	26.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, p. 63.

County rates of infant mortality in Mississippi in 1970 ranked from under 16 in Carroll (13.2) and Calhoun (15.2) counties to more than 40 in Amite (44.0), Chickasaw (69.0), Humphrey's (66.3), Issaquena (71.4), Jefferson Davis (47.1), Kemper (45.2), Neshoba (51.0), Stone (45.2), Tate (50.2), Tunica (57.8), Webster (51.4), and Wilkinson (66.7) counties. White rates were under 16 in about 15 counties, and over 40 in only six counties. In no county in Mississippi was the nonwhite rate under 16. The nonwhite infant death rate was above 100 in two counties (Alcorn and Tishomingo).²¹

Neonatal mortality, which refers to deaths of infants under 28 days of age, shows the same trend. Although the overall rate has decreased over time, the differential between white and nonwhite rates reflects differential living conditions and cultural practices.

TABLE 11
NEONATAL MORTALITY RATE* SELECTED YEARS,
MISSISSIPPI, 1924-1971

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1924	36.4	32.9	39.8
1930	35.3	30.8	39.4
1940	30.7	39.4	31.7
1950	22.4	20.6	23.8
1960	25.3	20.2	29.6
1970	20.3	15.7	25.2
1971	16.1	12.6	20.6

*Number of deaths of infants under 28 days of age per 1,000 live births.

Source: Same as Table 8.

For many years midwifery was a flourishing activity in Mississippi. In 1921 there were over 4,000 practicing midwives in the State. While they served a useful purpose in the delivery of health services to Mississippians in rural areas, ninety percent were illiterate and combined superstition with practical experience in their ministrations. In 1975, only 217 active granny midwives were registered with the Board of Health, and they were under the supervision of the county health department.²¹

Improved prenatal care, physician attended births, and family planning have been influential in reducing the maternal death rates in Mississippi (Table 13). The 1970 census indicated that 150,000 of the 448,324 Mississippi women of child bearing aged lived in poverty level

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF LIVE BIRTHS IN HOSPITALS OR
CLINICS, SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1945-1974

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1945	NA	63.3	8.1
1950	46.1	83.3	18.9
1954	NA	94.4	32.9
1960	73.2	99.0	51.3
1970	90.0	99.7	79.7
1974	97.4	99.7	94.8

Source: 1945-1970 data from John Saunders, et al., Mississippi's Counties; Some Social and Economic Aspects, (State College; Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Services No. 6.) p. 58, and Vital Statistic Mississippi 1970, (Jackson: Mississippi State Board of Health), 1974: Unpublished data, Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

homes. That only 21,000 women were receiving family planning assistance in public clinics²² highlighted the pressing need for a family planning program. Utilization of specially trained nurses to provide family planning assistance and the Women and Infant Care (WIC) programs have been significant factors in providing needed assistance to low income persons and lowering the rates of infant and child mortality.²³ Table 11 shows the tremendous improvement in maternal mortality in Mississippi, particularly since the introduction of federal health programs in the State.

TABLE 13

MATERNAL DEATH RATES* SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1913-

	TOTAL	WHITE	NONWHITE
1913	108.8	74.1	148.2
1920	89.8	56.6	124.8
1930	101.9	73.7	128.3
1940	62.2	45.9	75.1
1950	25.6	11.0	36.2
1960	10.0	2.9	15.9
1970	7.1	2.0	12.5
1974	2.7	1.7	3.8

* Maternal deaths per 10,000 live births.

Source: Same as Table 8.

Historically, the South as been a "region of high birth rates and low economic opportunity. Thus birth control information and family planning programs are basic needs in rural localities."²⁴ Naylor and Clotfelter have suggested that the Federal or State funds are needed to help rural areas maintain health centers; they need not have a full staff of physicians-- a 'physician's associate' may be enough-- but they must be able to meet the routine, daily health needs of rural residents."²⁵ They futher feel "both the South and the nation will soon have no choice but to take a long, hard look at the alternatives to free enterprise medicine."²⁶

SUMMARY

A minimum level of medical facilities and manpower is absolutely necessary if health levels are to be maximally maintained. Mississippi continues to have a comparatively high birth rate. Differential living conditions and cultural practices have resulted in higher mortality as well as fertility rates among blacks. However, infant and neonatal mortality rates in Mississippi have registered dramatic declines in recent years. This has been brought about by improved prenatal care, increased proportions of physician attended births, and family planning.

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POVERTY AND NUTRITION

Nutrition is a major variable in health status. Dietary deficiencies are known to stunt physical growth, lower the I.Q. of children, and produce premature senility in older people. Diet is one of the significant general factors in the physical and mental pathologies that contribute to the poor's inability to raise their incomes and levels-of-living.¹ One HEW nutritional survey revealed that one-fourth of the people with incomes below the poverty level were anemic to a degree requiring medical attention. This study cited poor health as a major cause of irregular attendance during training and employment.² A study of black children in Noxubee and Oktibbeha Counties found that about one-third of the children examined had low hemoglobin levels.³

An insufficient consumption of protein during the first four years of infancy is known to result in a possible failure of the brain to develop fully.⁴ Inadequate nutrition as a concomitant of poverty is probably a factor in the high infant mortality and maternal mortality rates in the United States compared with other developed countries. Dr. James Carter of Vanderbilt University observed to the U.S. Senate Finance Committee that "the poor in America are probably less well fed than livestock."⁵

The poor and near poor face the reality of choosing between an adequate diet of the most economical sort and some other necessity because of insufficient income to have both.⁶ This prospect for persons of near poor and moderate income has been compounded by the recent inflation in the price of necessary goods and services. Studies of the elderly poor in particular have indicated that serious nutritional problems may be pronounced among this group.⁷

The advantages of pastoral beauty, rurality, and relative freedom from the congestion and visible ills of more urbanized areas notwithstanding, Mississippi is not an oasis where the entire citizenry has entirely escaped the hunger and malnutrition which accompanies dire poverty. In fact, the State has been dramatized as a "laboratory of hunger" with numerous incidents of families attempting to survive on diets of cornmeal and grits having come to light.⁸ Fact and testimony has revealed an ugly reality-- many Mississippi residents have suffered a generally unacknowledged and possibly unrecognized travial of diets inadequate to satisfy either the pains of hunger or the requisites of nutritional balance.

Children in Mississippi, compiled by a team of physicians working under the auspices of the Field Foundation, documented several counties in which malnutrition was widespread and vitamin and mineral deficiencies were common. This report concluded that many Mississippi poor "were living under such primitive conditions that we found it hard

to believe we were examining American children of the 20th century."⁹

Poverty and Nutrition are Interrelated

Poor nutrition is closely interrelated with unhealthy living conditions, lack of knowledge, inadequate income, and poor health. While each of these factors may or may not be characteristic of specific poverty families or individuals, these traits tend to found in consortium. Each contributes to the other, and they intermesh in the spectre of chronic poverty. Poor health and inadequate nutrition, may, in any given instance, be a result of inadequate income. At the same time, poor health is a major causal agent in the inability to be more productive economically. Studies of family development and nutrition in Mississippi have indicated that nutritional status is highly interrelated with overall familial characteristics and purchasing power.¹⁰

Improving the Nutritional Level of Poverty Families

The Food Stamp Program, operated by the Department of Public Welfare, permits low income families to purchase food coupons in various denominations and use them like cash for most food items. Table 1 shows the participants in the program by year as well as the total value of coupons.

The Food Stamp Program has now replaced the old commodity distribution program which began in 1935 and provided food free of charge to eligible households. The latter program was discontinued as of June 30, 1974 by Congressional mandate in the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of August, 1973. As of that time eight Mississippi counties participated in the commodity distribution program. As of June 1975, all 82 counties in Mississippi were participating in the Food Stamp Program.¹¹

Participation of Mississippians in food stamps increased from 191,000 in 1969 to 347,000 in 1973 (Table 1). The total value of coupons issued in Mississippi in 1973 was over \$106 million. Administration expenses have been described as excessively high, running some 10 percent of the benefit at the federal level and five percent at the local level.¹² Nationally, administrative costs are estimated to be about 9 percent of the amount transferred under the program.¹³ The food stamp statement of expenditures for Mississippi in fiscal 1974-75 involved \$4.7 million for salary and fringe payments and \$6 million in total administrative expenditures.¹⁴ The total amount of bonus coupons (difference between value of coupons issued and purchase requirements) was almost \$72 million,¹⁵ representing a considerable increase in purchasing power for qualified items by recipients.

TABLE 1
FOOD STAMP DISTRIBUTION, NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS AND
VALUE OF COUPONS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 - 1973

	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969
Participants (1,000)	347	330	308	281	191
Value of Coupons (\$) (Million)	106.2	88.1	87.8	47.3	29.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, various editions.

Development of the Food Stamp Program

The current food stamp program had its origin in 1964 Congressional Legislation. In the late 1960s many counties began switching from the commodity program to food stamps. Evidence soon became clear that many poor could not afford to participate in the program due to the cost of stamps. Furthermore, the schedule of benefits was too low to provide a nutritionally adequate diet. Until January, 1970 regulations "were sufficiently harsh to place more than ninety percent of the food stamp beneficiaries below the minimum level for an adequate diet, despite spending nearly half their income on food stamps alone."¹⁶

The "rediscovery of hunger in the Mississippi Delta"¹⁷ seems to have been a major factor in the increase in the benefit levels of the food stamp program enacted into law on January 11, 1971. This liberalization greatly increased the size of the program, leading the Senate Select Committee on nutrition and human needs to state that "food stamps are now clearly fulfilling their potential as the nation's best antihunger tool."¹⁸

Expansion has been accompanied by increased controversy over the program. The liberality of eligibility has been a particular issue, while sympathetic observers have entered numerous caveats to the program's administration and effectiveness. Probably the most serious charges have been levelled at features which have restricted participation and limited its outreach to the needy. Ignorance of the program, the inconvenience of bunching the cost of a month's food bill into a lump sum payment for the stamps, lack of transportation, administrative complexity in determining eligibility limits, have all functioned to restrict the outreach of the program far below the number of potential eligibles.

Whatever its merits or demerits on other grounds, the food stamp program does diminish the gain a family would derive from an increase in earnings since the cost of stamps increases with income at an implicit tax rate of 30 percent.¹⁹ The distortion in consumption patterns (necessitating a larger expenditure for food than a family would prefer if given cash benefits or than they prefer to make given current income) of participating families "means that the subsidy under the food stamp programs is worth less to the recipients than an equivalent amount of cash they could spend as they wish."²⁰ Clarkston²¹ has estimated that a transfer of \$1 under the program is worth only \$.80 to recipients on the average.

From the outset the food program involved a curious assemblage of motives and attitudes, with concern for feeding the poor tied to a desire to maintain demand for farm products and to clear warehouses of the surplus accumulations of government price-support programs.²³ While food stamps are said to "protect the welfare client from spending for any other purpose money that his caseworker and the Department of Agriculture believe should be spent for food,"²⁴ they constitute a form of compulsory budgeting which ties up a large proportion of family's purchasing power in food script. So long as income remains inadequate, the desire to retain purchasing flexibility with income available rather than restrict it to food purchases discourages participation.²⁵ Some have noted that the visibility of food stamp purchases advertises the "user's poverty status to neighbors, bystanders, and sale clerks." In addition to Steins' observation that "the process does not enhance dignity"²⁶ it may well contribute to public agitation over the program by raising the cupidity of observers hard pressed to hold their own food budget in manageable levels who observe what seems to be the casual purchases by food stamp recipients at more favorable terms and in greater quantities than they themselves can afford.

The per capita value of commodity distributions was much lower than the per capita value of food stamps.²⁷ However, research has shown that increased food consumption does not necessarily improve nutritional levels of poor families. Studies have indicated that the consumption patterns of recipients are altered toward more delectable foods and convenience serve items, but not toward more nutritious diets.²⁸

Importance of Information

Experience with the food stamp program has suggested the importance of communicating accurate information and establishing an understandable process of application if the program is to reach those potential recipients who have the most pressing needs. Otherwise, those with minimal skills in communication and interaction, restricted mobility, or with limited ability to obtain and process information may be denied an opportunity to participate through ignorance and default. An outreach program, funded through a grant by the Governor's Office of Human Resources, seeks to provide accurate information and assistance to potentially eligible persons and non-utilizing approvees in twenty-eight counties in Mississippi.

Improved nutritional status is heavily dependent on good homemaking and consumer purchaser practices. These variables take on added importance for poor persons who must plan with severely restricted incomes. Often poor persons are the least knowledgeable about how to maximize the value of the resources which they have available. Specialists in home economics, sociology, and other disciplines at land grant colleges have engaged in extensive research in access to and communication of ideas among low income families, as well as in the basics of homemaking practices. Programs drawing on the skills of extension specialists, researchers, welfare workers and community action personnel for a consortium of effort by communicating and applying the research findings in home making practices, and in the communication and adoption of improved procedures, to the question of improving the nutritional pay off of the food stamp program, would seem to be in order.

SUMMARY

Diet is a major element in the quality of life available to an individual or to a family. Serious deficiencies which impair an individual's potential for being economically productive are fostered by inadequate nutrition. The presence of documented hunger in the Mississippi Delta was in large measure responsible for liberalization of the Food Stamp Program. Although highly controversial, the Food Stamp Program is currently the major vehicle for attempting to improve dietary consumption of the poor. Cooperation with agencies having expertise in budget management and food preparation seems necessary in order for the improved purchasing power for food stuffs made possible by the utilization of food stamps to be translated into improved nutritional practices and intake of poor families.

FOOTNOTES - POVERTY AND NUTRITION

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CHAPTER 12

POVERTY AND HEALTH CARE SERVICES

Health care, though not necessarily the most important ingredient in a people's health level, is one of the important factors. While the data is contradictory on the comparative utilization of health services by socio-economic level,¹ most studies support the proposition that illness is not adequately treated and preventive services are not as frequently available for the poor.²

PROVIDING HEALTH SERVICES FOR THE POOR

The public provision of health care services is a relatively direct way of redistributing resources and reducing the amount of income necessary for a given level-of-living. Since provision of free or reduced cost health services is often an effective substitute for income with which to attempt to purchase such services, they may effectively raise families and individuals beyond the poverty level as measured by monetary income when the value of services is taken into the calculation.³

Although public provision of health services has long been available to groups which qualified for recipient privileges,⁴ free health care for the poor traditionally has been dependent on charity from hospitals, private practitioners and organizations and local governments. Public acceptance of part of the extensive burden of health care expenditures utilized by the area is reflected in the 1965 amendments to the Social Security Act which established the Medicare Program for the elderly. These same amendments also established Medicaid, a program for medical assistance for the poor. The Medicare and Medicaid programs enable aged and/or poor persons to utilize the private health care market without paying the full price of the services themselves.

Medicaid

Mississippi began participation in Medicaid on January 1, 1970. This program, administered by the Mississippi Medicaid Commission, makes the benefits of the program available to persons whose income qualifies them for public assistance grants previously administered by the Mississippi Department of Public Welfare,⁵ plus specified other categories of needy persons. These include persons whose income level and/or health status meet the qualifications for the previous welfare grants program under the old age assistance, aid to families with dependent children, aid to the blind, and aid to the permanently and totally disabled programs according to the 1972 eligibility standards, plus children for whom Mississippi public agencies are assuming financial responsibility, persons under 21 who would qualify for ADC except for school attendance, persons who would

qualify for money payments under the above programs if they left the medical facility in which they are patients, and persons whose income exceeds the eligibility standards, but whose income has been "spent down" for medical services to the point where the surplus has been depleted.

Medicaid expenditures are made for such medical costs as physician's services, hospital and nursing home charges, drugs, and limited dental services. In addition, the Medicaid Commission pays Medicare co-insurance premiums and deductions for eligibles, plus the provision of birth control services and supplies with reimbursement made to physicians, family planning clinics and pharmacies. During fiscal 1974, 9,737 persons received "family planning medical services" and 13,420 received "family planning drugs" at a cost of \$382,951. This service became covered by Medicaid on July 1, 1974.

TABLE 1

MONTHLY AVERAGE OF PERSONS ELIGIBLE FOR
MEDICAID SERVICES, BY SOURCE OF QUALIFICATION,
MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEARS 1970 - 1974

YEAR	TOTAL	OAA	AB	APTD	AFDC*	OTHER
1974	311,564	85,146	2,084	29,265	194,449	620
1973	290,472	88,879	2,188	28,325	176,461	619
1972	266,901	79,468	2,208	28,905	157,820	500
1971	217,555	79,560	2,193	25,665	110,137	--
1970	199,050	74,943	2,126	22,030	99,951	--

*Includes children and adults.

Source: Annual Reports of the Mississippi Medicaid Commission, 1971-1974.

During fiscal 1974, the number of persons eligible for Medicaid assistance under Medicaid increased at a rate of approximately 2,000 per month to a total of 325,133 persons at the end of the fiscal year, an increase of 8.1 percent during the fiscal year. The unduplicated number of poor persons who received assistance at some time during the year was 358,138. A monthly average of 311,564 persons were eligible for Medicaid benefits in fiscal 1974 (Table 1), with an average expenditure of \$273.10 per eligible (Table 3).

Table 3 shows the monthly average of persons eligible for Medicaid services. Table 2 shows the percent change in the monthly average of persons eligible since the beginning of the program, while Table 3 gives the expenditure trend by program category.

TABLE 2

PERCENT CHANGE IN MONTHLY AVERAGE OF PRSONS ELIGIBLE FOR MEDICAID SERVICES, BY SOURCE OF QUALIFICATION, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEARS 1970 - 1974

	TOTAL	OAA	AB	APTD	AFDC
CHANGE	56.5%	12.0%	2.0%	32.8%	94.5%

Source: Computed from data in Annual Reports of the Mississippi Medicaid Commission.

TABLE 3

AVERAGE MEDICAID EXPENDITURE PER ELIGIBLE, BY PROGRAM CATEGORY, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEARS, 1971-1974

	1974	1973	1972	1971
OAA	512.65	382.13	364.22	--
AB	408.29	281.21	283.82	--
APTD	610.57	437.02	437.62	--
AFDC				
Children	79.73	54.83	52.02	--
AFDC				
Adults	252.79	175.86	120.84	--
TOTALS	273.10	202.71	197.97	177.60

Source: Same as Table 1.

The number of poor persons in Mississippi who received one or more services through Medicaid in fiscal 1974 was 275,314 (nearly 77 percent of all eligibles), an increase of 20,951 (8.2 percent) over the previous year. Increased utilization of health services by eligible children was responsible for the largest growth in the number of recipients.⁶ Total expenditures for fiscal 1974 were 89.7 billion, an increase of 44.5 percent (25.2 million) for medical services and 98% (2.3 million) in administrative costs over fiscal 1973. Reasons cited for the increased cost for the medical services component are the increase in the number of eligibles coverage of intermediate care facility services, "family planning" for a full year, increased fees, increase in the medicare deductible, as well as an increased utilization of services.⁷ It has also been suggested that the tacking of Medicaid onto "the most complicated system (or non-system) of medical care in the world"⁸ functioned to compound an escalation of fees and costs.⁹

TABLE 4

MEDICAID UTILIZATION RATE AND OTHER SPECIFIED DATA BY
PROGRAM CATEGORY, MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEAR, 1974

PROGRAM	UTILIZATION RATE	PERCENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES	AVERAGE PER ELIGIBLE	PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE
OAA	88.7	51.3	512.65	27.3
AB	82.6	1.0	408.29	0.7
APTD	90.7	21.0	610.57	9.6
AFDC				
Children	66.4	14.4	79.73	49.3
AFDC				
Adults	84.1	12.3	252.79	13.3
TOTALS	55.9	100.0	273.10	100.0

Source: Fifth Annual Report, Mississippi Medicaid Commission, 1974, pp. 13-20.

Approximately one half of the poor eligible for the Medicaid program in Mississippi are children in AFDC families. AFDC children accounted for only 14.4% of the total medical expenditures, and for by far the smallest average cost per eligible child (79.73) in fiscal 1974. This is probably due to their lower utilization rate (66.4), plus the lower average prescription expenditure for children as well as the small proportion requiring extended hospitalization and nursing care.

Aged persons, who account for slightly over one-fourth of the total eligible poor, account for nearly one-half of the total Medicaid expenditures. Medicaid pays part of the premium of Medicaid eligibles, who are also eligible for Medicare (Part B of Medicare) plus the hospital deductible of Part A for persons who have Medicare inpatient hospital coverage. Medicaid pays for the hospital services of those elderly persons not eligible for Part A of Medicare. Aged persons accounted for approximately one-third of the Medicaid expenditures for physicians services during fiscal 1974, and accounted for about 90 percent of the persons receiving skilled nursing facility services.¹⁰

It seems clear that the Mississippi Medicaid Program is playing an increased roll in providing needed health care services for the State's poor.¹¹ Specific local data, however, on the extent to which Medicaid represents specific gains to the poor in terms of services which were not available before Medicaid, or which would not otherwise be available, are lacking.¹² Distributional side effects of the program, the degree to which it replaced services otherwise available before the program, and inadequate knowledge of utilization rates by demographic characteristics make it impossible to equate increased expenditures with an increase in benefits received.¹³

Gaps in the Medicaid Program

A major gap in currently operative programs may be found among the poor who do not qualify for the categorical assistance provided by Medicaid. Furthermore, the matching fund program presupposes that States have the resources to finance their part of the costs. It has been noted that Mississippi, though having the lowest per capita income of any State, already surpasses 26 richer States in welfare expenditures. This raises a serious question of whether Mississippi and other low-income States can be expected to bear added financial burdens "in extending a more adequate range of care to the medically indigent."¹⁴ It has also been suggested that many needy cannot gain access to medical services even though Medicaid stands ready to pay the bill. Also, potential Medicaid patients may not have ready geographic access to services, or they may find that physicians refuse to serve them because of the added administrative burden of filing for claims or the desire not to be tagged as "poverty" or "Medicaid physicians."¹⁵

Several studies in various states have indicated that Medicaid has permitted an increased usage of health services by the poor, particularly for speciality services wherein poor persons whose ills had previously gone unattended sought and obtained medical assistance pursuant to Medicaid.¹⁶ Theoretically, the health care access problems of the poor ought to be solved by Medicaid.¹⁷ However, studies have shown that in reality Medicaid's prospect of making comprehensive care available to the poor is yet to be fulfilled. Aside from the program's distributional side effects, questions have been raised about unrealistic eligibility levels, failures in some areas to enroll all those eligible, less than adequate scope of services, and a shortage of cooperating providers, all of which have combined to impede improved access to health care by the poor.¹⁸

Piel has observed that the reinforcement of the health care system by federal dollars has encouraged resort to the most costly modes of care, hospitalization, and surgery.¹⁹ Furthermore, the welfare features in Medicaid are said to exert an economic bias in favor of acute episodic care rather than continual and preventive care, while many poor and near-poor families who do not fall into one or another welfare category are totally excluded.²⁰

Moynihan claims that the prime charge to be made against Medicaid is that it enhances the advantages of dependency by sharply increasing the rewards to female-headed or families dependent on public assistance and, in effect, provides penalties for moving out of dependency.²¹ For a family with income near the eligibility threshold, increased income or a decision to work longer hours can prove to be financial suicide. This effect has been mediated somewhat by the spend-down provisions enacted into law with the Supplemental Income Security provisions effective January 1, 1974. The objective consensus seems to be that the Medicaid program has increased the access of eligible low-income households to medical care. However, the program has been so seriously flawed that there has been a constant agitation for replacement or extensive revision.²²

Medicare

In 1965, after years of controversy over the status of health care access and delivery for the aged, Medicare was established as a federal program of payments for medical services used by the aged.

Medicare covers the bulk of the hospital and medical costs of persons who are 65 years of age and older and, as of 1973, persons who are disabled social security beneficiaries. The program is financed similarly to the OASDHI program.²³

Some 270,353 Mississippians were medical beneficiaries of Medicare in 1974, and drew benefits of more than \$100 million.²⁴

TABLE 5

MEDICAID ENROLEES, MISSISSIPPI, 1966 - 1974

	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Enrollees (Thousands)	210	215	218	129	224	229	234	266

Source: Social Security Bulletin, Annual Statistical Supplement, 1973
p. 149.

Table 6 shows the number and percent of new medical admissions in facilities licensed for the care of the aged in Mississippi for 1969-1973. As of December 31, 1973, Mississippi had a total of 126 licensed institutions for the aged or infirm with 54 of the 82 counties having at least one of this type of health care resource. The count of institutions and the total counties involved were the highest reported since the State Board of Health began preparing reports thereon in 1961.²⁵ Medicaid (effective 1967) and Medicare (effective 1970) are largely responsible for the upsurge. The sharp decrease in the number of patients carried wholly or partially by welfare is due to increased coverage under Medicare and Medicaid which provided benefits to certain nursing homes for the first time in 1973.²⁶

A study conducted by Mississippi State University soon after the Medicare Program became operative indicated that those least likely to be participants in the program were more likely to be nonwhite, to live alone, to have felt that their condition had worsened since age 60, and to have less than eight years of education. An intensive program informing and enlisting those eligible to be enrolled was recommended. Personal contact was emphasized as an especially salient method of disseminating

information to older target groups since diminution in seeing and hearing faculties among the aged may limit the efficacy of information disseminated through commercial channels.²⁷ Early studies of utilization of Medicare among low income aged persons in the Southeast indicated that a much larger proportion of aged blacks than aged whites were not knowledgeable about the Medicare Program.²⁸

TABLE 6
NUMBER AND PERCENT OF NEW MEDICAL ADMISSIONS,
LICENSED FACILITIES FOR CARE OF THE AGED, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

Source of Funds	NUMBER				
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total					
Medicare	6,268	7,073	6,915	5,703	5,952
Medicaid	3,376	3,193	1,774	773	501
Patients and/or Relatives	987	1,182	1,558	1,579	1,547
VA Sponsored	202	172	158	201	140
Welfare Only	272	128	129	129	46
Welfare and Other	1,412	284	433	494	110
Other	9	9	74	25	6
No Fee Charged	10	1	4	5	2
Source of Funds	PERCENT				
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Medicare	53.9	45.4	25.6	12.8	8.4
Medicaid	-	29.4	40.3	44.5	60.5
Patients and/or Relatives	15.7	16.8	22.5	27.7	26.0
VA Sponsored	3.2	2.4	2.3	3.5	2.4
Welfare Only	4.3	1.8	1.9	2.3	0.8
Welfare and Other	22.5	4.0	6.3	8.7	1.8
Other	0.1	0.1	1.1	0.4	0.1
No Fee Charged	0.2	--	--	0.1	--

Source: Statistical Abstract, Mississippi, and Mississippi State Board of Health, Report on Mississippi Institution for the Aged or Infirm, 1973.

Note: Above data applies to licensed facilities for care of the aged. However, about 10% of the new admissions are persons less than 65 years old.

Although Medicare is available to all age persons without regard to a means test, an OEO report estimated that one-fourth of the Medicare outlays aid the poor in obtaining medical care. This program has doubtless kept others out of poverty, and eased the anxieties of those who have been offered some protection against the unrelenting threat of financial ruin as the result of illness at a point in the life cycle when the individual tends to be more vulnerable to medical pathologies.²⁹

Medicaid by contrast, provides services only to those whose incomes fall below a specified means test. The program is financed on a federal-State cost share basis, with the States determining within certain limits the eligibility standards and the range of services to be covered. Because of the close connection between the cycle of poverty and illness, it was hoped that Medicaid and Medicare would immediately become a significant force in the national attempt to break the poverty cycle. While Medicaid/Medicare have been helpful, the actual operation of both programs have been plagued by a number of difficulties, shortfalls of expectation, and undersirable serendipitous effects which have limited delivery of tangible benefits to the poor. Sympathetic observers have found them surprisingly and unanticipatedly expensive, less than rationally efficient allocation mechanisms, complex, cumbersome, and highly vulnerable to fraud.³⁰ There are, as well, notable gaps in the comprehensiveness of services provided as well as in terms of the needy and near poor who cannot afford the out-of-pocket expenses required for adequate treatment and preventive care.

Analysis of the economic impact arising from the introduction of Medicare and Medicaid has raised questions as to the actual magnitude of gains which recipients acquire as well as serious questions of equity in the development of health care policy.³¹ Under Medicare/Medicaid, the average American family actually paid out \$95.00 more of their own money in 1972 than before these programs went into effect in 1965.³²

The national experience with Medicaid and Medicare has raised public consciousness of the governmental role in health care and health care financing and has pointed in the direction of providing more adequate care to the aged and needy. These programs have also illustrated the difficulties of divorcing a system of public financing from a consideration of the entire spectrum of program impact and needed improvements in the health care field, as well as the limitations of using target population groups alone (such as the aged or the categorically needy) as the catalyst for developing a more efficient and equitable means for an overall provision of health services.³³

Reform of the Health Care System

There are probably few fields of endeavor in which emotion clouds judgement more unhappily than in the provision of health care. Rhetorical claims about "rights" to medical treatment are easier to express than to implement. Ideas of desirable social morality notwithstanding, there is evidence that countries which have set out to provide "national health insurance" have "been faced not only with the failure of their systems to deliver

what was confidently promised, but also with a deterioration in the quality of health services available, accompanied by an apparently uncontrollable rise in cost.³⁴ The new programs intended to help people meet rising costs have contributed unintentionally to further increases in cost.³⁵

There is little question but that a goal of national policy should be an health care delivery system which enables adequate care for all citizens. There is substantial agreement that the present combination of the market mechanism and categorical subsidization is far less adequate than desirable in meeting needs of health care. The distortion in incentives and pricing, and the often noted inefficient organization of delivery through "separation by function, fragmentation by process, segregation by payment"³⁶ of the nation's third largest industry in terms of the number of people employed results in an allocation of vitally important services at a level that often results in poor, inadequate, financially destructive, or substandard care for large segments of the population.³⁷ Inadequate income affects the impact of even minor expenditures for medical services, transportation, child care arrangements, or loss of work time.³⁸

The central question in reform of the health care system is how to convert the aspiration of the theoretically recognized right of access for all into actual access for all... "how to convert an aspiration into skills, services, facilities, and systems available to the people."³⁹ Establishment of a national health program presents the problem of determining what share of the nation's total resources are to be used for health care. If services are "free", it compounds the disincentive for efficient utilization and raises the question of how suppliers can be collectively signalled they prefer resources for other programs - education, transportation, low-income housing. Arbitrary limits on expenditures may restrict quality and quantity below what consumers want, and raise an unresolvable problem of allocating what is available.⁴⁰

Furthermore, it is useful to look at medical care as a residual solution available when solutions aimed at more fundamental causes are not successful. A program of adequate health care for the poor must simultaneously take into account efforts to deal with the root causes of ill health through health related programs that have important feedbacks to other areas and reduces other social costs, such as family planning, which reduces poverty due to unwanted births. Neither is any amount of additional funding, nor even reorganization of the delivery system, likely to have much impact on the fact that many of the nation's major health problems, including alcoholism, venereal disease, many malignant and heart ailments, as well as much infant mortality, are attributable to the living conditions, ignorance, or irresponsibility of the patients rather than the shortcomings of medical care providers.⁴¹ The idea that spending more and more on health services will produce a healthier population that will ultimately die a "clinically blameless" death is a fallacious assumption.⁴²

There seems to be near if not total consensus among informed observers that additional funds for medical care poured into the present system will create further distortions without markedly improving services.⁴³ The warning that providers have proved adept at using "planning" as a route

of protectionist regulation for incumbent providers is also in order.⁴⁴
The problem has been put in perspective by Falk:

...merely instituting a bigger or even better health insurance program will not suffice. Better fiscal provisions must be accompanied by provision for more adequate health manpower and facilities, for their more effective utilization, for the achievement of economies without sacrifice of quality, for moderation if not containment of cost escalations, and for better access to medical care services, especially for those of modest or small means who now have difficulty in obtaining needed care.⁴⁵

SUMMARY

Health care is a major factor in health levels. Public provision of health care services is a relatively direct way of redistributing resources and reducing the amount of income necessary for a given level-of-living. Mississippi began participation in Medicaid (which makes medical services available to persons meeting categorical assistance requirements) in 1970. Approximately one-half of the poor eligible for Medicaid in Mississippi are children in AFDC families. Mississippi began participation in Medicare, which is a federal program for payment of the bulk of medical costs of the aged, in 1965. Some 270,000 Mississippians were beneficiaries of Medicare in 1974, and drew benefits in excess of \$100 million.

1. Mark G. Arnold and Greg Rosenbaum, The Crime of Poverty, (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1973), pp. 25-29.
2. Norman Cantor, "The Law and Poor People's Access to Health Care," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Autumn, 1970), p. 901.
3. Arthur Shostak, et al., Privilege in America: An end to Inequality (Prentice Hall, 1973), p. 92.
4. For example, the Veterans Administration provides free medical care as well as pensions and other subsidies for those whose life history qualifies them for these privileges. Although access to the veterans health care system is not based on set income limitations, "many of the patients using hospitals are poor. The system, in fact, saves many individuals from economic disaster when costly illness strikes." Sar Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970s, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 68.
5. Beginning January 1, 1974, the Supplemental Security Program (SSI), which is administered by the Social Security Administration, replaced the old system of public assistance grants administered by the State Department of Public Welfare. In effect, this transferred the existing financial assistance programs of the State Welfare Department to the Federal Government.
6. Fifth Annual Report, Mississippi Medicaid Commission, 1974, p. 12.
7. Ibid., p. 17.
8. A. Donabedian and S. Axelrod, "Organizing Medical Care Programs to meet Health needs," Annals 337 (September, 1961), pp. 46-56; Paul Horton and Gerald Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems (Prentice Hall, 1974), p. 599.
9. Horton and Leslie, Ibid., p. 619.
10. Fifth Annual Report, Mississippi Medicaid Commission, pp. 23-29.
11. An indication of the increased role of Medicaid in meeting the health needs of the poor in Mississippi is reflected in the number of providers who provide yearly service in excess of specified values. The number of physicians and pharmacies who provided services for which the Medicaid Commission paid \$50,000 or more per fiscal year increased from one physician and two pharmacies in fiscal 1970 to more than thirty physicians and over fifty pharmacies in fiscal 1974. Annual listing of providers who render services in excess of specified amounts is published in the report of the Medicaid Commission.
12. As Somers has pointed out, it is necessary to analyze the entire spectrum of distributional impact to assess whether the greatest average gains accrue to the consumers or to the providers of medical services. Anne R. Somers, "The Nation's Health: Issues for the Future," Annals 399 (January, 1972), p. 150.

13. Bruce C. Stuart, "Who Gains from Public Health Programs," Annals 399 (January, 1972), pp. 145 ff.
14. Unsigned, "Medicaid: The Pathwork Crazy Quilt," Columbia Journal of Law and Social Problems, (April, 1969), p. 70. A related issue regarding Mississippi's ability to provide the funds necessary to extend Mississippi coverage to more adequately meet the health needs of the medically indigent is seen in the fact that Mississippi already taxes its citizens the same dollar amount for every thousand dollars of personal income (\$170) as New York (\$170.30), which has the highest per capita income of any State. The pressure for the "far heavier internal tax burden on Mississippians than New Yorkers, given the huge difference in income" probably reflects an intensity and direction of state taxation policy at least partially attributable to the proximate pressure to provide the funds required to obtain federal outlays through contributory grants-in-aid such as the medicaid program. William F. Buckley, Jr., Four Reforms - A Guide for the Services, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1973), pp. 43-45. Cf. Bruce C. Stuart and Lee A. Bair, Health Care and Income: The Distributional Impact of Medicaid and Medicare Nationally and in the State of Michigan, (Lansing, Michigan: State of Michigan, Department of Social Services, 1971).
15. John Krizary and Andrew Wilson, The Patient as Consumer, (D.C. Health, 1974), pp. 73-84.
16. "Medicaid: The Patchwork Craze Quitt."
17. Barbara Shenfield, Myths of Social Policy, (Rockford, Illinois: Rockford College, 1975), p. 43.
18. Howard A. and Marian L. Palley, "The Petermination of Pricing Policy in the Health Care Delivery System," American Behavioral Scientist 19 (October, 1975), pp. 104-121; See volume 339 (January, 1972) of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science for specific discussion of these issues.
19. Gerald Piel, in George Rohrllich (ec.) Social Economic for the 1970s (New York: Donellen Company, 1970), p. 45.
20. Charles Schultz, et al., Setting National Priorities, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1972), p. 222.
21. Daniel P. Moynihan, The Politics of a Guaranteed Income, (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 492.
22. Henry Aaron, Why is Welfare So Hard to Reform? (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1973), p. 14.
23. Although frequently described as an "insurance" program, the payroll taxes which finance the program are expended for current benefits. They are not placed in any fund and invested to provide the capital

from which payments are made as the contributors need to utilize their "insurance". The analogy to private insurance has caused many participants in government "insurance" programs to mistakenly believe the programs are financed through an investment of their contributions and returns are provided by earnings on the investments. Description of social security as "insurance" has probably confused the nature of the financing system in the public mind.

While it is true that the government's so-called "investment" of the insurance trust funds in its own bonds and the financing of current outlays through current contributions contradicts the financial and actuarial realities requisite for the operation of an insurance program, a similar investment of private insurance funds in government bonds would be regarded as "blue chip" holdings. Furthermore, the insurance analogy may be appropriate in distinguishing a centrally administered program with earmarked deductions as opposed to autonomously operated programs among the States financed through legislative grants. Howard N. Newman, "Medicare and Medicaid," Annals, 339, (January, 1972, p. 117; Robinson Hollister, "Social Mythology and Reform: Income Maintenance for the Aged," Annals 415 (September, 1974), pp. 19-40.

24. Information obtained from interview with Mr. John Pate, Social Security Administration, Jackson, Mississippi (December 3, 1975).
25. Mississippi State Board of Health, Report on Mississippi Institutions for the Aged or Infirm, 1973. Cf.: Mary Mendelson and David Hapgood, "The Political Economy of Nursing Homes," Annals 415 (September, 1974), pp. 95-105.
26. Report on Mississippi Institutions for the Aged or Infirm.
27. E. J. Stojanovic, "Participation in Medicare", Mississippi Farm Research, 31 (October, 1968), p. 5.
28. E. J. Stojanovic, "The Dissemination of Information About Medicare to Low Income Rural Residents," Rural Sociology 37 (June, 1972), P. 255.
29. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor, p. 65.
30. See Isadore Falk, "Beyond Medicare," American Journal of Public Health, 59 (April, 1969), pp. 608-619. Rosemary and Robert Stevens, "Medicaid: Anatomy of a Dilemma," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Spring, 1970), pp. 348-425; Rosemary Stevens, American Medicare and the Public Interest, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, Press, 1971).
31. Stuart, "Who Gains from Public Health Programs," op. cit.
32. Horton and Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems, p. 619.
33. Irwin Wolkstein, "Medicare: 1971 Changes in Attitudes and Changes in Legislation," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Autumn, 1970); T. R. Marmour, The Politics of Medicare, (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1973); Mary W. Herman, "The Poor: Their Medical Needs and Health Services Available to Them," Annals, 339 (January, 1972), pp. 12-21. Howard Newman, "Medicare and Medicaid," Annals, 339 (January, 1972), pp. 115-123.

34. Barbara Shenfield, The Myths of Social Policy, p. 33.
35. Committee for Economic Development, Building a National Health Care System, (New York: CED, 1973), p. 18, Berkie and Heston, p. xii.
36. Berk and Heston, p. xiii.
37. CED, p. 17.
38. Herman, "The Poor: Their Medical Needs and Health Services," p. 20.
39. CED, p. 17; William Kissick and S.P. Martin, "Issues of the Future in Health," Annals 339 (January, 1972), p. 151.
40. Krizay and Wilson The Patients as Consumer.
41. Somers, "The Nation's Health Issues for the Future," p. 161.
42. Shenfield, p. 38.
43. CED, p. 19.
44. Clark Havighurst, "Foreward," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Autumn, 1970), p. 35, Cf., Cotton M. Lindsay, Veterans Administration Hospitals: An Economic Analysis of Government Enterprise, (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975),.
45. I.S. Falk, "National Health Insurance: A Review of Policies and Proposals," Law and Contemporary Problems, 35 (Autumn, 1970), p. 677.

CHAPTER 13

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POVERTY

The adage of man's home is his castle which even the King of England dare not trespass reflects the development of the sacredness of "one's own" household which has deep roots in the organic evolution of Anglo-Saxon legal principles. Part of the glory of America has been the comparative access to the land which it afforded, allowing countless numbers to shred to the debris of ages which would have held them in bondage in Europe and combine laborer and householder in the yeoman owner in the United States.

Land is a basic economic heritage of a people. Land has traditionally been of unusual importance in Mississippi since man-land relations have been a direct source of income in the production of agricultural crops and timber¹, and has been a basic ingredient in social organization (man-man relations). Although Mississippi is no longer basically an agricultural State,² ownership of land does and will continue to be a significant social, political, and cultural, yardstick.³

Importance of Land Tenure

Land tenure, or the conditions under which landed property is held, occupied, and used, is a fundamental factor in the way economic resources are allocated in a community. It is probably a major determining criteria of who is or who is not going to be poor or who is likely to remain poor. In addition, land ownership is thought to carry with it externalities that represent important social goals. These include social stability, individual and familial autonomy, community identification, and other recognized accouterments of good citizenship and desirable levels-of-living.

Despite the large number of Americans who possess title to homes (generally mortgaged), it is estimated that some two-thirds of the private property in the United States is owned by five percent of the population.⁴ Most of the geographic area of the United States remains rural despite the rapid urbanization of the population. Some 90% of the American population lives on circa 10% of the land area. And, with three of four Americans jammed into cities and subjected to increasing food prices, landholding patterns assume even greater importance.

Numerous observers have felt that widely diffused and responsible ownership of productive property is a basic ingredient in social order and economic justice. Thomas Jefferson, believing that "the small land holders are the most precious part of a state," advocated public policies "to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be

without a little portion of land."⁵ Rural landholding patterns are important not only because there is good reason for regarding farm land as the most basic and desirable form of productive property,⁶ but because landholding patterns greatly influence individual and group welfare in both rural and urban communities.

Rural Poverty

In order to alleviate poverty it is necessary to determine and rectify factors that cause poverty. Some causes are "natural" in the sense of differences in luck, health, chance, age, accident, skill, size, mental endowment, aptitude, and the opportunity to use those faculties of which one is possessed in ways that bring appreciation and remuneration to him. Other causes are "political" in the sense that poverty is the product of social institutions and the system of privileges associated with social institutions. The massive transformation of Southern agriculture in the last four decades, which has witnessed the apportioning of income from plant and animal husbandry in larger segments among fewer persons, lies in the realm of political rather than merely in market considerations. An understanding of rural poverty today requires a recognition of the affect of national farm policy as it effects the causes and consequences of poverty.⁷

Rural based social problems have been said to have been comparatively ignored due to the visible and dramatic import of urban based poverty. Nevertheless, rural income is far less equitably distributed than urban income.⁸ Farm labor ranks among the lowest status and lowest paid occupations, while the "number of rural poor in the United States is larger than the total population of most of the underdeveloped countries of the world."⁹

Rural social problems, marginal agricultural operations, and low-income families in rural areas have been the focus of extensive research for several decades. Nevertheless, rural people have serious resource development needs, some of which tend to be less visible to policy makers and the general public than their seriousness merits.¹⁰ Lack of an adequate theoretical and factual base for analyzing rural problems has tended to promote the notion that massive transfers to agriculturally based industries and populations and the public expenditures on behalf of these groups have tended to solve the pressing rural problems.¹¹

This chapter will look specifically at farm changes in Mississippi, contemporary agricultural policy, and some ameliorative suggestions addressed specifically to the issue of rural poverty.

FARM CHANGES IN MISSISSIPPI

The agricultural revolution has brought a dramatic decline in the farm population. This is partially due to expanding opportunities in

industry and the escalation in educational opportunity after World War II, partially due to the increased intensity of mechanization (which has both released and/or driven off farm labor as well as placed the less capitalized farmer at an economic and political disadvantage), and partially due to the political structuring of farm policy which has favored the development of large-scale enterprises.

Farm Numbers and Size

It is clear that Mississippi has rapidly moved in the direction of "mechanized, large-scale farming industries and away from the pattern of small, economically marginal, family operated units which once dominated rural life styles in Mississippi."¹² The number of farms in Mississippi decreased from an historical high of 313,000 in 1930 to less than half of this number (138,000) in 1959 (Table 1). Between 1950 and 1959 the number of farms/farmers decreased by 57% (from 251,383 to 109,141) with 30,000 of this decrease occurring during 1959-1964.¹³

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF FARMS, TOTAL FARM ACERAGE, AND AVERAGE SIZE PER FARM,
MISSISSIPPI, 1930 - 1969

	NUMBER	TOTAL FARM ACERAGE (MILLION)	AVERAGE SIZE (ACRES)
1930	313,663	17.3	55.4
1935	311,683	19.6	63.1
1940	291,092	19.2	65.8
1945	263,528	19.6	74.4
1950	251,383	20.8	82.4
1954	215,915	20.7	95.9
1959	138,142	18.6	134.9
1964	109,141	17.8	162.6
1969	72,577	16.0	221.0

Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture.

NOTE: The difference between the 72,577 farms in Mississippi according to the Census of Agriculture in 1969 and the Census of Population in 1970 which indicated 52,210 farm families plus circa 8,500 other households reflects 1) continued loss of farm population, and 2) differences in measurement units in that a farm does not necessarily contain a household.

In 1950 half of the State's population lived on farms and 40% of the labor force was engaged in farming. By 1969 the proportion of the labor force employed in farming had decreased to 6.4% and only 9.5% of the Mississippi population were classed as farm residents.

Although the State's farm population has been drastically reduced in size since 1950, the amount of land used in agriculture has remained relatively constant.¹⁴ Average farm size in Mississippi regressed from 55 acres per farm in 1930 to 81 acres in 1950 and 221 acres in 1969. The overall picture is one of a "rapid change in Mississippi from a labor-intensive small farm system with high proportions of tenancy to mechanized farming with predominantly ownership tenure.... In the space of two decades, the state's agriculture has changed from an essentially self-sufficient family farm type of production to one which is essentially of an industrial-commercial nature, efficiently maintained by a much smaller expenditure of manpower."¹⁵ These changes have been described as "probably an inevitable outcome of the modernizing trend in agriculture."¹⁶

Kelly,¹⁷ in a study of small farm land tenure in the Yazoo Basin, pointed out that farm size has managed to somewhat hold its own in the hill country:

The largest increase in farm size occurred in the Yazoo Basin and along the Mississippi River south of there, while the hill country and northern part of the Black Belt experienced the smallest average increases. In the hill areas many small farmers are holding their land and living on it while working elsewhere. This is not so common in areas of large increases in farm size (where Negroes are a majority). Fewer Negroes own land, and besides it probably is not as enjoyable or economical simply to live on a piece of monotonous Yazoo Basin land as it is to live in the hill country. Although there were area-to-area differences in average increase, farms expanded in all parts of the State.

The Delta is regarded as "wealthy" in contrast to the northeast hill country, a differential that is popularly recognized in observation, legend, and romance.¹⁸ However, it has been in this "rich farm land of the Delta... ranking among the top counties in the nation in cotton production"¹⁹ that the debilitating circumstances associated with poverty have been most pronounced.²⁰ Boyd and Morgan,²¹ in a review of findings from the cooperative study conducted by Agricultural Experiment Stations in nine Southern States 1958-1965, titled "Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Areas of the South" describe the Mississippi Delta²² as "characterized by a low-level-of-living, low total family income, low participation, low joint decision making, small portions of farm and home owners, and a large portion of nonwhites. It is relatively a very depressed area." The tenure situation in the Delta, which involved a "relatively low average

rate of ownership...,"²³ has not received the attention it prima facie merits as a variable in the etiology of area poverty.²⁴

Decline in Tenancy

Perhaps the most optimistic aspect of agricultural change in Mississippi has been the decline in tenancy. The proportion of full owners among Mississippi farmers in 1969 (72.3%) was nearly twice that of 1950 (41%). The proportion of tenants was reduced from 52% in 1950 to only 9% in 1969.

To the extent that this change represents either 1) an increase in ownership, or 2) an alteration of occupation and attendant life-styles which reflects an improved level-of-living, the decline in tenancy may be regarded as one of the great improvements in Mississippi's agricultural picture over the past generation.

TABLE 2
FARM TENANCY, MISSISSIPPI, 1950 - 1969

TENURE CATEGORY	1950	1959	1964	1969
Full Owners				
Percent of Total	41.0	54.0	59.2	72.3
Percent White	77.4	76.4	77.6	76.7
Percent Nonwhite	22.6	23.6	22.4	23.3
Tenants				
Percent of Total	51.6	32.3	23.5	9.0
Percent of White	59.6	27.5	27.8	27.5
Percent of Nonwhite	40.4	72.5	72.2	72.5

Source: Ellens S. Bryant, Mississippi Farming and Nonfarming Population A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 - 1970, p. 7. W.A. Stacey, et. al., Mississippi's Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966), pp. 3-4.

In 1930 over 70% of the farm operators in Mississippi were tenants, and nearly two-thirds of all operators were tenants in 1940. Farm tenancy was recognized as a major social problem during the 1930s when the Great Depression dramatized chronic concentrations of poverty in rural areas.²⁵ The sharecropping tenancy system²⁶ was born of the old plantation system. It produced many families of wealth contrasted to numerous families whose plight has been described as one of family

heads "trying by some means to hold onto a spinning world until by some means enabled to get a grip on a better way of life. He knows he cannot buy land of his own from the profits of the sharecropping. He knows just as well that he cannot save until he earns, and that he cannot earn much more than a bare living..."

In contrast to the agricultural censuses from 1930 through 1954, the 1959 census showed that ownership (which accounted for 54% of all farm operators) had become the dominant form of farm tenure in Mississippi. In 1964, 59% of all farm operators were full owners, and 72% in 1969. However, the actual number of farm owners decreased from over 100,000 in 1950 to about 65,000 in 1964 and about 52,500 in 1969. Consequently, the optimistic picture reflected in the decline in tenancy is somewhat offset by the real decline in the number of full owner farms. This would indicate the decline in tenancy has not been accomplished by increased flexibility or possibility of access in the tenure ladder, thus possibly perhaps offsetting the apparently optimistic picture reflected by the decline in the proportion of tenant operated farms.

Farm Mechanization

Mississippi turned the decade into the thirties with an agriculturally dominated mule powered economy. Ten years later less than 3% of the farms in Mississippi had tractors,²⁷ and well under 20% of the farming operations of breaking, discing, and harrowing were performed by tractor power.²⁸

Between 1940 and 1969 the percent of farms equipped with trucks and tractors increased from 6% and 2.7% respectively to almost 70%. Mississippi farm population had a larger percentage of food freezer ownership and about the same percentage of television ownership as the urban population. Wholesale improvement in farm levels-of-living has been one of the most notable and far reaching changes over the past several decades which has helped to improve the overall quality of life in Mississippi.

Black Farm Population

As of 1910 blacks in the South had managed to become full or part owners of 12 million acres. By 1950, black land ownership had declined to 12 million acres, and by 1969 was down to 5.5 million acres, a drop of 54% in two decades. Browne has pointed out that "an effective attack on the urban problem cannot ignore the roots of that problem... it must attempt to deal with the poverty of black people of the rural South." He feels that many institutions devoted to assisting solvent farmers "cannot deal meaningfully with the problems of the very poor, be they black or white."²⁹

Browne argues that there is a need for "an institution, or series of institutions which would have as an objective the creating of

economically viable family units whose labor power, however unskilled, would be building equity for them." Browne notes that in addition to transferring land, there should be assistance in the maintenance of economically viable family units. These could take the form of truck farming; cooperative cultivation in the sense that the needs for expensive equipment is held in cooperative ownership; or perhaps the development of processing facilities. The important element is to provide access to opportunity and to maximize and maintain lines of access to property and economic self-sufficiency.³⁰

TABLE 3
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MISSISSIPPI FARM POPULATION,
BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1940-1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Total Number			
1940	1,403,884	629,766	774,118
1960	540,304	243,659	296,645
1970	261,492	151,521	109,504
Percent of Total			
1940	100.0	44.9	55.1
1960	100.0	45.1	54.9
1970	100.0	58.1	41.9
Numerical Change			
1940-1960	-863,580	-386,107	-477,473
1960-1970	-278,812	-92,138	-187,141
Percent Change			
1940-1960	-61.5	-61.3	-61.7
1960-1970	-51.0	-37.0	-63.0

Source: Mark Lowry, "Population and Economy Part I: Agriculture," Mississippi Geographer, II (Spring, 1974), p. 34.

Between 1960 and 1970 the black farm population in Mississippi decreased by 63%, compared to a decrease of 37% in the white farm population during this time (Table 3). Most of this decline was brought about by the movement of blacks out of agricultural tenancy. The percentage of black full owners among all full owners of farms in Mississippi remained relatively constant at circa 23% between 1950 and 1969. The actual number of black owners, however, decreased from over 23,000 to about 12,500 during this period.

The attitude of change agents has frequently been to conceive of an abundance of "many small farms with limited sales of agricultural products"³¹ rather than in terms of access to land. Similarly, there seems to have been a tendency to blandly disregard displacement of the many in the interest of "efficiency and higher farm income,"³² and to regard as ameliorative changes which have in balance resulted in critical social consequences.³³ Ford has evaluated the effects of this change as "particularly severe for black tenants (for whom) there were few opportunities for ownership. Between 1935 and 1964 full ownership by blacks declined from 150,000 to 70,800 in the South."³⁴ Furthermore, "because of their limited incomes, education, farm sizes, and access to credit, the Negro farmer's inability to adjust to technological and market changes.... is evident from.... the average size of farms operated by Negroes... less livestock, yields, and machinery... and dependence upon cotton and tobacco, which are hardest hit by... federal agricultural policies."³⁵

CONTEMPORARY AGRICULTURAL POLICY

Part of the "New Deal" revised agricultural policy was to maintain farm income by creating a tie to the public purse through subsidization³⁶ on the one hand and a limitation of output on the other.³⁷ Farm income was to be raised by resulting higher prices supplemented by direct cash gifts from the public treasury.³⁸ In terms of a social accounting whether the program raised average³⁹ incomes is far less important than its distributional impact and its externalities⁴⁰ or serendipitous effects.

In the 1940s government programs⁴¹ "chose not to undertake financial assistance to low income rural families while spending billions in direct financial assistance to aid the upper income American farmer,"⁴² a policy that continued in the fifties and sixties without substantial modification. In 1955 the Department of Agriculture released a study documenting the extent of rural poverty which indicated that in 1955 there 1.5 million farmers with incomes of \$1,000 or less.⁴³ The issue of assistance to the rural poor was resolved by what Sen. Paul Douglas described as a "conversation bill" as opposed to a program of direct financial assistance. The Agricultural (now Cooperative) Extension Service was expanded to challenge rural poverty through counseling and information services. In 1956 direct financial assistance which accrued primarily to large commercial farmers was provided by a raising of price supports and a fient toward production repression through the Soil Bank.⁴⁴

Although the supposedly intended and announced goal of the supply-management agricultural policies instituted in the 1930s "has been to alleviate poverty on farms,"⁴⁵ landowners rather than labor have been the main beneficiaries of the price-support program. The price-support program has increased the capitalized values of land owners.⁴⁶ As

farms have changed hands at higher and higher prices, a substantial share of the realized capital gain has been channeled into the non-farm sector through inheritance with a resulting increase in fixed cost and reduced net income to the new owner.⁴⁷

Agricultural policy over the last four decades illustrates the contention that the dual welfare of the United States is structured to perpetuate poverty consisting of "one set of welfare programs for the dominant, nonpoor majority, all in one way or another protected by camouflage, and another set for the poor..." There is no escaping from the conclusion that agricultural policy has provided a massive subsidy to middle-and upper income agriculturalist, and has deliberately ignored the economic circumstances of the bottom half of American farmers" and, though its policy measures, by "encouraging increased economic concentration in agriculture, has contributed directly to the economic deprivation of the rural poor."⁴⁸

Few will argue against the proposition that the nature of rural land tenure is intimately related to the character of the social order. There is a distinct historical correlation between democratic conditions and free-holder status of soil tillers in control of their own enterprise on the one hand and the corresponding absence of democratic institutions in societies where farming lands are owned and controlled by a management class wherein those engaged in actual production are merely serfs, peasants, or hired laborers. Indeed it might be argued that concentration on microeconomic problems of farm enterprises to the neglect of larger intermediate (ownership, autonomy, opportunity, access) microeconomic factors has factored into numerous contemporary social problems.⁴⁹ Agriculture based upon the essentials of industrial production--extensive holdings, heavy mechanization and capitalization--which translate organizational elements of urban life onto the rural landscape may well foster differentials of power that lead to alienation and apathy in the mass population.

Goldschmidt, with direct relevance to the search for the causes and consequences of contemporary poverty and its effect on the self-concept, dignity, and opportunity for autonomous independence of the contemporary population, has noted that one of the basic beliefs which set the course of American history was that the nature of land tenure is closely related to the character of the social order. American society, he states, was built upon the assumption that the nation would be largely populated by independent entrepreneurs, artisans, self-employed professionals, and independent farmers.⁵⁰ He points out that the vision of the future under increased corporate control of the land or land-holding in large segments by fewer persons is not an inevitable development.⁵¹ And, as Hightower has pointed out, "before the family farmer is discarded, we ought to take a hard look at where we are being led. It is not just the family farm that is threatened by agribusiness, it is the price and quality of the American food supply."⁵² He adds that in a corporate-controlled integrated processing and marketing "efficient" system food system prices go up rather than down. Even this may not be the biggest price consumers pay for corporate food production, since 1) sub-

stitution of technology for labor, 2) standarization and monopoly control of the food supply, and 3) synthetic foods, are a product of the "brave new agriculture."⁵³ An understanding of contemporary rural poverty requires a recognition of the effect of national farm policy. Generally ignored, however, is the degree to which the massive transformation in Southern agriculture in the last four decades lies in the realm of political rather than market considerations.⁵⁴

EFFECTIVELY COMBATING RURAL POVERTY

Alleviation of rural poverty and dependency will be of benefit not only to rural areas and individuals, but will also be a step toward the lessening of the potential for increased urban area social and welfare problems. Ford⁵⁵ has noted that the rural poor in the South have been trapped by simulanenous change in both the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the economy. He contends that government subsidy programs have encouraged displacement of large quantities of agricultural labor while structural change in the nonagricultural sector constrained employment opportunities for low-skilled labor. The result has been a set of economic conditions wherein substantial economic growth could take place without a significant reduction in the number of rural poor.

Ruttan has suggested that a first step in a realistic effort to deal with rural poverty is to recognize that it is not appropriate to gear efforts at reducing poverty to a) programs to increase agricultural production or b) to increase nonfarm employment in rural areas since 1) production expansion will not provide new jobs in rural areas and 2) the potential number of new jobs created by such activities in the remaining poverty pockets will at best be limited relative to the size of the poverty problem.⁵⁶

Ruttan further points out that a prosperous agriculture no longer implies a prosperous rural community. The rural community and commercial agriculture are no longer joined in a mutuality of interest stemming from the possibility of a common solution to their economic problems since the economic relationship that previously existed through the product market and the market for purchased inputs is rapidly disappearing.⁵⁷

Several suggestions are offered as indicating a direction in which it would seem desirable to move in order to effectively combat rural poverty and respect the Jeffersonian principle of increased access to opportunity. These do not sacrifice overall community welfare for economic expansion which may run counter to community interests. They include suggestions regarding rural industrial development, opportunities for black labor, capital intensive industries, fiscal policy, technological and research orientation, and a theory of welfare economics.

Rural Industrial Development

Experience with industrial or factory employment in Mississippi soon made it apparent that off-farm work insured an improved income source for low-income families and was an effective and direct route to increased levels-of-living.⁵⁸ Increased employment opportunities for female household members in low wage industries can be a significant factor in allowing for either a) small farm ownership or b) improved levels-of-living among owners. Furthermore, small farms can function as a viable anti-poverty device by supplementing retirement or low-wage incomes. Put another way, farm incomes can be supplemented by low wage industrial or pension incomes. The small farm may offer self-regulated employment opportunities to satisfy creative, expressionistic, or autonomous urges.⁵⁹

Rural development should be of such nature as to be of benefit to indigenous citizens and not provide burdensome opportunity costs.⁶⁰ It is questionable whether the goal of rural development should be to import high wage industry or to necessarily increase the current trends of apportioning agricultural income in larger segments among fewer persons. Rural areas need the kind of industry that can utilize the labor force available, not the kind of development which superimposes high grade industries upon the indigenous population.⁶¹ From a social cost or opportunity perspective, low-wage industrial development that will allow low skilled individuals to find employment is a greater need than is high wage industry which, though perhaps availing itself of the natural resources and public developments of an area, is not suited for absorption of the labor force available.⁶²

Opportunities for Black Labor

There is some evidence that industry has tended to avoid predominantly black areas. In those 244 rural counties with 5,000 or more blacks in 1970, blacks have not shared proportionately in job growth, and they have participated even less in the more highly skilled job opportunities. Blacks have traditionally had lower levels of education and training,⁶³ particularly in areas where the sharecropping system predominated. Of all agricultural experience, sharecropping probably has done the least to prepare people for nonfarm employment because it provided little incentive or opportunity for human resource development.⁶⁴

It should also be questioned whether the public should finance the entry of private industry into an area, particularly unless its impact would not be to increase opportunity costs for the low-income population by driving up prices. If rural areas are not economically viable because of lack of profit making opportunities in ways of benefit to the low-income population,⁶⁵ there could nevertheless be community development corporations, cooperatives, or other organizations motivated by employment (rather than by profit maximization or tax write-

offs) who could engage in activities which were profitable (and/or which delivered services to consumers at lower costs),⁶⁶ in the sense of returning costs, even though these were not the most "profitable" uses of resources. Marshall has pointed out that if rural development is to take place in areas by-passed by private profit maximizing enterprises, it might be good public policy to promote development through community organizations.⁶⁷

Capital Intensive Industries

Marshall argues that any human resource development program should include a strategy which permits if not encourages the development of labor-intensive activities. He notes that many of the displaced farm workers in the rural South are not qualified to hold high-wage positions in capital intensive industries. Naylor and Clotfelter concur in the proposition that the Department of Agriculture should depart from its present policy of forty years duration of subsidization of large-scale capital intensive farm operations in the South.⁵⁸

Government Fiscal Policy

Goldschmidt has pointed out that "Government policies with respect to tax laws, agricultural subsidies and farm labor have been portent forces affecting the growth of large-scale corporate farming. This growth cannot therefore be said to be natural; it is the result of force-feeding, of the injection of fiscal hormones. If the growth of corporate farming can be force-fed, so too can the time-honored traditions of American life."⁶⁹

Barnes has recommended a state severance tax which would fall most heavily on extractive companies who currently "benefit from a wide variety of federal and State tax preferences" as an highly appropriate levy since "the resources they extract are a gift of nature to all, not to just a privileged few," plus an unearned increment tax exempting small farms and businesses which would be borne "almost entirely by large landowning corporations and real estate speculators" with greatest impact on owners of urban and urban fringe land as appropriate steps consistent with the Jeffersonian principle that ownership of the land in small parcels by those who work and live on it is a key to alleviating poverty, easing urban overcrowding, reducing welfare costs and unemployment, protecting the environment and maximizing individual autonomy conducive to republican government.⁷⁰

Government policies should be structured so as to minimize increases in land values. This goal is likely to be compounded by the threat of population increase (particularly in an area as desirable for exploitation as Mississippi) and accompanying land development and expansion of large-scale agribusiness. Public policy makers might well

consider those policy measures consistent with republican government which meets Jefferson's advice that "it is not to soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land."⁷¹

Technological and Research Orientation

Since mechanization is a fact of life, agricultural policy needs to be responsive to its social effect.⁷² Hightower and DeMarco have recommended that question be raised as to whether the costs of the "mechanical, chemical, genetical and managerial research conducted by the land grant college complex" do not overwhelm the benefits. If anti-poverty policy is to be a criterion of judgment, the question of who benefits, the distribution of benefits, and at whose expense they are made becomes an important consideration. Hightower and DeMarco suggest that the research orientation of the land grant colleges should be redirected in the interests of consumers and small size operations rather than being designed to "sell" the consumer on products, to determine what influences shopper's decision making, or strengthening the art of enticing consumer appeal through packaging.⁷³ It might be wise, for example, if the research emphasis on strains of vegetables which can be machine harvested⁷⁴ were replaced with or equalized by an emphasis on small scale and reduced-cost technology.⁷⁵

Theory of Welfare Economics

Bishop has suggested the appropriateness of a new welfare economics that provides a better theory of social investment and focuses more sharply upon the distribution of costs and benefits from public policy. He expresses the qualified optimism that hopefully the time is approaching when those sufficiently favored to be agricultural producers "will no longer be able to obtain high price supports for farm commodities under the pretext of increasing the incomes of low-income farm families."⁷⁶

Prior to the devastating rise in food prices in 1973 the federal farm price-support program cost the American tax-payer \$5 billion a year in direct budgetary outlays plus an additional \$4.5 million in higher food prices. Programs which funnel the majority of their resources into subsidies for the wealthy farmers with less benefits going to the poor families are prima facie candidates for revocation if any supposed benefit to low-income families is a criteria. Naylor and Clotfelter, noting that "our present national farm policy does virtually nothing to alleviate the problems of the rural South," recommended a "phasing out of the price-support program with the objective of completely terminating it in five years."⁷⁷

SUMMARY

Land tenure or the conditions under which landed property is held is a fundamental factor in the way economic resources are allocated in a community. The agricultural revolution has resulted in an apportioning of farm income in larger and larger segments among fewer and fewer recipients. The fact that total farm income may be increasing is not necessarily a sign that area quality of life is improving. Area income does not represent increased social benefits merely because of its magnitude apart from the question of at whose expense and at what opportunity costs the increased income is obtained. Area income may dramatically increase over time without an appreciable decrease in poverty.

Understanding of contemporary rural poverty requires a recognition of the effect of national farm policy and the degree to which the massive transformations in Southern agriculture are the result of political rather than market considerations. Suggestions offered as directions toward which public policy should move forward in ameliorating rural poverty are presented respective to rural industrial development, opportunities for black labor, capital intensive industries, fiscal policy, technological and research orientation, and a theory of welfare economics.

1. R.B. Highsaw and C.N. Fortenberry, Mississippi (New York: Crowell, 1952), p. 14.
2. C.C. Eason, "The Old Order Passes, Mississippi Business Review, 26 (October, 1964), pp. 9-10.
3. "The land is still the cradle of great poverty and injustice... Who owns the land? What are the social, economic and environmental consequences of present land ownership patterns? Few questions are more important for the future of America's land and people..." Peter Barnes, in Peter Barnes (ed.), The People's Land: A Reader on Land Reform in the United States. (Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Press, 1975). pp. ix-x.
4. Barnes has observed that "In any given county, whether urban or rural, the ten largest property owners often own ten to fifteen percent of the assessed valuation. In many parts of the country, it is the giant landlords..timber companies, railroads, energy companies, corporate farms..that dominate the livelihood of local citizens." Ibid., p.x.
5. Ibid., P. 3. See Twelve Southerners (I'll Take My Stand), (New York: Harper and Bros., 1930) for a basic statement in advocacy of expansion of the agricultural segment of the American economy in a Jeffersonian democratic structure as the desired goal for the South.
6. John Van Sickle, Planning for the South, (Nashville: Vanderbilt Univ. Press, 1943).
7. As Ford has quite appropriately pointed out, this issue is fundamental to policy regarding rural poverty since if the agrarian transition is associated with the type, magnitude, and direction of political intervention rather than market inefficiency, a quite different set of remedial policy measures would be appropriate. Arthur M. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South. (Cambridge: Ballinger Pub. Co., 1973), p. 35.
8. David Boyne, "Changes in Income Distribution in Agriculture, " Journal of Farm Economics, 47 (December, 1965); pp. 1213-1224.
9. The number of rural and poor in the United States is larger than the total population of most of the underdeveloped countries of the world." Olaf Larson, "Rural Poverty in the United States," Journal of Farm Economics, 49, (December, 1967), p.1235, 1239.
10. "....our understanding is defective partly because the study of rural matters has been left mainly to the agribusiness establishment... the land grant colleges, the United States Department of Agriculture and related agribusiness organizations....these agencies have had a large farmer, agribusiness bias and have paid too little attention to small farmers and the rural nonfarm sector." Ray Marshall, Presidential address, "Program and Research Issues in Rural Development," Southern Economic Association, November, 1974. Cf.:

Jim Hightower, "Hard Tomatoes, Hard Times," Society (November-December, 1972). The problem, however, is not so much that researchers have not been aware of the low-income rural population, but that programs which have been implemented have frequently been counter productive to their interests although perhaps promoting some kind of economic "efficiency" in terms of apportioning farm income in large segments among fewer people.

11. If the casual observer should consult a phone book, it would seem apparent that agricultural problems are solved to the extent that the attention of public agencies could conceivably affect a solution. Under USDA, for example, one finds circa forty numbers in the Jackson, Mississippi phone book. Rural housing, farmer programs, community programs, special projects, and engineers are among the titles listed for one agency. In addition there are the State-County cooperative extension personnel. Marshall has noted that the "social costs of displacing millions of people through agriculture subsidies paid mainly for the benefit of larger farmers and agricultural research mainly for the benefit of larger farmers" are not necessarily cancelled out by the fact that large scale agricultural operations are "efficient" in the sense that owners do well financially. Ibid., p. 13. There are also consumer costs and opportunity costs that must be balanced against the micro-economic success of farm enterprises. See Paul Findley, The Federal Farm Fable (Arlington House, 1968), and Dan Van Gorder, It Fares the Land, (Western Island, 1969), for delineation of these costs and their policy implications. Ford states that the general reaction to Harrington's labelling of the poverty found in rural places as the "harshest and most bitter poverty" in existence was one of "surprise or disbelief." How could there be any rural poor?
12. Ellen S. Bryant and K. M. Leung, Mississippi Farm Trends 1950 to 1964, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 754, 1967), p. 3.
13. Bryant and Leung point out changes in Mississippi agricultural 1950-1960 were an increasing domination of production by "mechanized, efficiently managed enterprises" combined with a "growing group of wage laborers, mostly Negro, which has displaced largely inefficient tenant units." Mississippi Farm Trends, p. 7. Presumably the kind of "efficiency" to which the authors are making reference is economic efficiency in the sense of higher dollar incomes to those with sufficient capitalization to mechanize. Clarence Poe (Farm Life: Problems and Opportunities) wrote concerning what he considered the overall ultimate goal of farm policy: "The conclusion of the whole matter is that the final goal of agricultural progress is simply the development of a richer and finer civilization... and all other reforms or attempts at improvements are steps or means to this end. Emerson said: 'The true test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor crops; no, but the kind of men the country turns out.' And this is just the thought which Dr. Carver once expressed in its agricultural implications when he said in a letter to the writer:

'The final test of a good agriculture is the growing of good men and women who are throughbreds in the real sense of the word.' Quoted in A Southern Album (Birmingham: Oxmoor House, 1975). In reality, however, the human equation has often been preempted by the economic so that so-called economic "progress" is uncritically regarded as synonymous with human progress, and questions such as larger incomes for whom and at what expense, efficiency for whom and at what social and human cost, have been excluded from the calculus of agricultural policy. Consequently, expressions such as the following seem to be widely accepted as self-defining of the kind of result toward which policy should be directed without taking the lost opportunity costs of those who do not benefit from the "efficient allocations..." into the calculus:

'The cornerstone of the Mississippi economy is the ever growing and vibrant agriculture sector. Larger farming units, more efficient allocations of land resources, and utilization of the latest technology on this land has paved the way to increased productivity and, as a result, to increased cash farm income. Combine this productivity and cash returns with the diversification achieved in agriculture in the past twenty years and the agriculture economy, as well as the economy of Mississippi as a whole, emerges stronger and more stable than ever before.'

Phillip W. Pepper, "Trends in Mississippi Agriculture--1950-1973," in Mississippi Agricultural Statistics 1954-1973, (Jackson: Mississippi and United States Department of Agriculture, 1975), p. iv.

14. The number of acres in farms in Mississippi in 1930 (17,332,1975) was approximately the same as in 1970 (17,500,000). Donald B. Dodd, Historical Statistics of the South 1790-1970, (University: University of Alabama Press, 1973), p. 37.
15. Bryant and Leung, p. 4. The generally neglected fact in this interpretation, however, is that much of the impetus for the massive transformation of agriculture lies in the realm of political rather than market considerations, and justification of the resulting displacements in the name of efficiency is to ignore the fact that uncontrolled market activity had little to do with the process. Demographers and other casual commentators noting the tripartite correlation between increased capitalization, increased farm size, and decreased number of units, regarded the transition as a *pari passu* result of the "efficiency" of larger enterprises and the competitive nature of modern agriculture... forcing inefficient owner enterprises out of operation." Bryant and Leung, p. 4. Cf.: Irlin Tower, Mississippi's Changing Economy, (Jackson: Mississippi R & D Center, 1974), p. ix.
16. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 To 1970 (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), pp. 6, 14.

17. Arthur Kelley, "Small Farm Land Tenure in the Yazoo Basin," Mississippi Geographer, 3 (Spring, 1975), p. 42, Kelly points out in this study that one of the many reasons given for the downfall of the Roman Empire was the passing of the yeoman farmer and their replacement by large estates. He adds that "whether the economics of this statement could be proved statistically or not, an analogy might be made as a warning for future land tenure in the United States. The average farm size more than doubled in the fifty year period from 1910 to 1960 and has increased another twenty percent in the last decade," p. 37.
18. For example, see John Faulkner, Dollar Cotton; David Cohn, God Shakes Creation; William A. Percy, Lanterns on the Levy.
19. D.C. Mosely and C.C. Williams, An Analysis and Evaluation of a Community Action Anti-Poverty Program in the Mississippi Delta (State College: Mississippi State University, College of Business and Industry, 1967 p. 1.
20. Sollie's analysis of tenure and land ownership indicated that in Sharkey County, where the rate of farm family poverty was highest in 1959, only 25.4% of the farm operators were owners. The rate of ownership in the county with the lowest rate of farm family poverty (Jackson) was over ninety percent. Carlton R. Sollie, Family Poverty in Mississippi: Extent, Distribution and Related Factors, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 21, 1969), p. 17. "Family Poverty in Mississippi... is most likely found among Negroes in rural areas of the Delta..." Ibid., p. 47.
21. Virlyn Boyd and Carolyn A. Morgan, Synthesis of Findings from Southern Regional Cooperative Research Project S-44: Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South, (Clemson University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, n.d.).
22. The Delta was an area where large numbers of black tenants were employed in cotton production. So intense was the cultivation that the pictures of tenant houses with cotton growing almost to the doorstep (no space to waste for individual gardens) is a revealing portrait of the distinct lack of enlightenment by which some practices were conducted. Retention of the source of labor for the labor intensive cotton production was an item of concern for Delta planters. Agricultural policy (beginning with the AAA in the 1930s) and mechanization (subsequent to World War II) exerted combined and bilateral effect on changing the industry from a labor to a capital intensive enterprise, releasing large quantities of low skilled labor which area industrialization and the heavy but inadequate volume of out-migration to Illinois, Michigan, and other points has not been sufficient to relieve. Boyd and Morgan, p. 24, Cf.: G. Moon, Hu Lu Fong, and Glen McCann, "Subregional Variability of Rural Families in the South," (Mimeo), (Raleigh Department of Rural Sociology, North Carolina AES, 1965).

23. Sollie, Land Tenure Patterns and Use, p. 6.
24. Perhaps illustration of the counter-productive relationship between community poverty and increased farm size is reflected in the fact that in 1960 in Sharkey County, where 88.3% of the farm families reported less than \$3,000 1959 income, commercial farms represented 83% of the total farms in the county, whereas in Jackson County (lowest percent low-income farm families), commercial farms represented only 17.4% of the total number of farms. Sollie, Family Poverty in Mississippi, pp. 17,29.
25. Dorothy Dickens, Improved Levels of Living of Tenant Families, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 365, 1942); U.S. Department of Commerce and USDA Cooperative Report, Farm Tenure: A Graphic Summary, 1950 (Washington, 1952); USDA, A Statistical Summary of Land Tenure, 1954, (USDA Agricultural Information Bulletin 200, 1958); Frank Maier, et al., The Tenure Status of Farmworkers in the United States, (USDA Technical Bulletin, 1217, 1960).
26. For discussion of types of tenancy and tenancy tenure systems, see Alvin Bertrand and F.L. Certy, Rural Land Tenure in the United States (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1962). Raper and Reid use the term "Sharecroppers" to apply to many non-farm workers on whom the social and economic system impose the same hardship of subservience and deprivation. Observing that throughout America's history "new types of exploitation have been hit upon as the gleanings from the old diminished," they feel that the sharecropping system made many Southern communities essentially feudalistic, involving low wages, insecurity, and lack of opportunity for self-direction and responsible participation in community affairs. Arthur Raper and Ira De. A. Reid, Sharecroppers All, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. v. vi, 213. For a particularly graphic portrait of the Southern tenant farmer in the 1930s, see Erskine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, You Have Seen Their Faces, (New York: Viking Press, 1937).
27. "While cotton was the first major crop to benefit from machine technology, it was the last to become completely mechanized. A cotton picker that would harvest the ripe bolls and leave green ones wasn't devised until 1942. After that, and with the end of World War II, cotton picking rapidly became a job for machines... Next, the development and widespread adoption of chemical weed killers in the 1950s and 60s virtually eliminated hand labor in cotton. In the early 60s, less than a third of the cotton was treated with herbicide. By 1972, over 90% was treated... In the 1920s it took 270 hours of labor to produce a bale of cotton. In 1948, that was down to 120 hours; today, it takes 25 hours." Joe Dan Boyd, "Cotton," Review of Ben Robertson, Red Hills, and Cotton, (Reprint of 1942 edition, University of South Carolina Press, 1976), Farm Journal (March, 1976), pp. 44, 5; Cf.: Thomas R. Brooks, Walls Come

Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement 1940-1970 (Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 91-92; Frank J. Welch, The Plantation Land Tenure System in Mississippi, (Mississippi AES, June, 1943), Harold A. Peterson and Arthur Raper, The Cotton Plantation in Transition, (Mississippi AES, 1954); F.S. Welch and D.G. Miley, Mechanization of the Cotton Harvest, (Mississippi AES Bulletin 420, 1945); Nelson L. LeRay and Grady Crowe, Labor and Technology on Selected Cotton Plantations in the Delta Area of Mississippi, (Mississippi AES Bulletin No. 575, 1959).

28. W.A. Stacey, et. al., Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966), pp. 3-4, Bryant, pp. 8-9.
29. Robert S. Browne, "The South," in The Peoples Land, pp. 40-14. Cf.: James Fisher, "Negro Farm Ownership in the South," Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 63 (December, 1973).
30. Browne, P. 41. However, a caveat is in order in that size limits should be imposed on the amount of land, say 150 acres or less, which any government funded, financed, or operated agency should be able to assist an individual in accumulating. The person who does not inherit land directly or who does not possess sufficient capital for purchasing land as well as the "poor without assets; and often very little in the way of skills" and thus fail to meet the minimum qualification for participation in existing programs, would be victimized by any new institutions which provide yet another form of categorical assistance without any limitation on the expansionist tendencies of those who already own a minimum amount of land. Thus the need is for a program of 1) financing which allows anyone to acquire a minimum amount of land for purposes of self-dignity, productivity, retreat, and security, and 2) cessation of all programs by the government which increases the price of land and prevents its widespread distribution. This means that those who do not possess minimum amounts of land must not be encouraged by public policies to increase their holdings in the interest of maximizing their dollar returns from agriculture. If anti-poverty, self-dignity and opportunity is the goal, the interests of land speculators, large landholders, and suppliers of equipment to highly capitalized landowners must not take precedence in the formation and administration of public policy. Legislative developments to this end, including reasonable progressive taxation, curative laws for retention of mineral rights which have not been transferred, and penalties for unearned increments would seem to be in order.
31. Carlton R. Sollie, Land Tenure Patterns and Use in Three North Mississippi Counties, (State College: Progress Report in Sociology and Rural Life No. 33., 1969), p. 1.
32. For example, see John L. Fulmer, Agricultural Progress in the Cotton Belt Since 1920, (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina, 1950), p. 70.

33. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Harper and Row, 1947), p. 54.
34. Ford, p. 27.
35. Correspondence of Ray Marshall to James Naylor, quoted in Strategies for Change in the South, p. 267. The problem, however, is not a racial one as it is the blocking of entry access to persons who would be satisfied by an agricultural existence, which is reflected in these statistics. That is, it is low-income rural people who have been victimized, not persons of any racial category. Also, when opportunity of entry is the criteria, the relatively disadvantage compared with other farm operators might make small landholders greatly privileged in comparison to those who are totally disfranchised.
36. "Every third row of cotton was plowed under and a million or so pigs slaughtered and buried. This seems a peculiar way to clothe and feed an ill-clad hungry population." Billy Boetz, "The Mad Depression Revisited," Intellect (January, 1976), p. 309.
37. Goetz has argued that the strategy of meeting a simultaneous falling off of business volume (depression) by price and wage maintenance policies is a "dog chasing its tail" as well as prime example of "the inexorable madness of the human race." Since we can only consume what we produce, and maintenance of the maximum level of production makes possible a maximum level of consumption, i.e., the highest possible standard of living, a cutting of prices (goods, materials, wages, salaries, rents) makes it possible for inventories to be cleared and goods to move into the hands of consumers. Maintenance of prices makes it impossible to interrupt the downward spiral of reduced volume, reduced employment, and further reduced volume in a continuing spiral. Ibid., pp. 305, 309.
38. See David Conrad, The Forgotten Farmers: The Story of Sharecroppers in the New Deal, (Urbann: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Donald Grubbs, Cry from the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and the New Deal, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971); J.S. Auerbach, "Southern Tenant Farmers: Socialist Critics of the New Deal," Labor History, 7 (1966), pp. 5-13; Lowell K. Dyson, "The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and Depression Politics," Political Science Quarterly (June, 1973), pp. 231-252 for discussion of the reaction of small tenant farmers, farm laborers, and sharecroppers to the effect of federal policies initiated in the 1930s which seemed not only to be bringing them no benefits but to be driving large numbers of them from the land.
39. "...changes in per capita income are not adequate measures of economic development because they ignore the distributional effects of development. It is entirely possible for per capita income to increase and many groups be worse off absolutely and relatively."

Marshall, "Program and Research Issues in Rural Development," p. 24. "It's like I say Nelson Rockefeller and I have \$2 billion between us. He has \$1,999,999,999 and I have \$1. That doesn't help me much. In fact, it often hurts." Ralph Blumenthal, "The Suburban Poor," in The Paradox of Poverty in America, p. 79.

40. In economic argot an externality is said to exist when an action of one person or group directly affects (outside of normal market relationships) the welfare of another person or group. Edgar K. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975), p. 48.
41. For discussion of the political bias of the AAA program, see Myrdal, An American Dilemma, and C. Hardin, "The Bureau of Agricultural Economics Under Fire," Journal of Farm Economics, 28 (1946), pp. 635-668.
42. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty, p. 50.
43. Wayne C. Rohrer and L. H. Douglas, The Agrarian Transition in America: Dualism and Change (Bobbs-Merrill, 1969); Grant McConnell, The Decline of Agrarian Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), p. 106.
44. Under Soil Bank, a program reminiscent of the thirties, farmers were to be paid for what they did not produce as well as what they did. Through payments reached into the millions, significant repressions in output were not obtained since the least productive land was taken out of production and an increase in yields on land left in production was obtained by implementing new technology. Ibid.
45. Micha Gisser, "Needed Adjustments in the Labor Supply," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (November, 1967), p. 806.
46. For documentation of the capitalization of technological change and commodity programs into land values, see W.L. Glisson, et al., The Marginal Value of Flue-Cured Tobacco Allotments (Va. Agr. Exp. Stat. Tech. Bul. 156, January, 1962); J.L. Hendrick, "Effects of the Price - Support Program for Peanuts on the Sale Value of Farms," Journal of Farm Economics, 44 (December, 1962), pp. 1749-1753; R. Herdt and W. W. Cochrane, "Farm Land Prices and Farm Technological Advance," Journal of Farm Economics, 48 pp. 243-264.
47. V.W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in An Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 48 (December, 1966), p. 1107.
48. Ford, p. 50.
49. The New Deal agricultural policy insured that "the heavily capitalized, tax-subsidized enterprises of the future would view labor as a cost to be cut rather than productive factor" and

"thus led America not toward productivity and purchasing power on the land, but toward waste and welfare in our cities." Donald H. Grubbs in The People's Land, p. 20.

50. For Jefferson, "agrarianism and private property were.... the means to democracy. Land was the typical form of private property, and farming was the typical use of land." Bertrand and Corty, Rural Land Tenure in the United States, p. 214. Cf.: Joe R. Motheral, "The Family Farm and Three Traditions," Journal of Farm Economics, 33 (August, 1951).
51. Walter Goldschmidt, "A Tale of Two Towns," in The People's Land, pp. 171, 175.
52. Hightower points out that replacement of competition with cooperation and coordination will cause "agricultural efficiency to decline as market concentration enables food companies to pass on to consumers the cost of inefficiencies and excess profits." The added costs of concentration will be "rung up on the consumer's tab at the checkout counter," while "packaging and advertising of food are becoming more important pricing factors than the food itself." Already "food corporations have become the biggest spenders on television advertising," Jim Hightower, "The Industrialization of Food," in The People's Land, pp. 80-85.
53. Hightower notes that the technological revolution in agriculture, largely financed by tax payers through the land grant colleges, has produced an arsenal of genetically-tailored, mechanically-harvested, chemically-ripened, electronically sorted and mechanically-wrapped fruits and vegetables, assembly line poultry fattened on drugs, chemically-skinned catfish and a "vast array of other gadgetry of the technological fervor that has gripped American agriculture since World War II...has been developed in the name of consumers and family farmers; it was in fact designed for and to the specifications of corporate agribusiness." Ibid., p. 83.
54. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South.
55. Ibid.
56. Vernon W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in an Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1966), p. 1116.
57. Ibid.
58. Dorothy Dickens, The Rural Family and Its Source of Income, (State College: MAES Bulletin 481); Herbert Hoover and John Crecink, Rural Nonfarm Families in the Clay Hills of Mississippi-Incomes and Resources (State College: MAES Bulletin 648, 1962). Carlton R. Sollie, Some Economic Characteristics of Tenure Types: A Progress Report of a Study of Land Tenure in Three North Mississippi Counties (Mississippi State University, Legal

59. D.E. Alleger, "Retiring on a Small Farm," Sunshine State Agricultural Research Report (Gainesville: Florida AES, 1963).
60. It is too easy to conclude from increased banking deposits, etc., that area economic development has across-the-board benefits. Aside from the fact that a serious concern with poverty must come to terms with inequities of distribution as well as "shoring" programs of grants, transfers and service delivery, development programs should not be such as to have a primary benefit to activities which thrive on the increased circulation of money in an area (real estate, retail sales, etc.) and should not be counterproductive to the interests of the poor by 1) increasing their costs, 2) limiting their opportunity for access into activities, businesses, or occupations, and 3) leave them with only trickle down benefits. The kind of development which employs workers at wage-skill levels above the ability of potential local workers to utilize results in in-migration. Achievement of so-called "economies of scale" in agriculture is the kind of "economic development" which is likely to accomplish the above three changes.
61. It should be emphasized that in most cases this will be low wage industry. For a contrary opinion, see J.O. McKee, "The Utilization of Human Resources: A Spatial Analysis of Manufacturing Employment in Mississippi," Southern Quarterly, 13 (October, 1974). McKee, arguing that Mississippi is "low" in capital-intensive industries, contends that increase in the latter and in per capita income "has to be a major goal of Mississippi in the 1970s." pp. 18-20.
62. Thomas E. Till, Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960s: Patterns of Labor Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Markets and Their Impact on Rural Poverty, (Austin: University of Texas, Center for Study of Human Resources, 1972); Industrialization and Poverty in Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets of the South (Austin: University of Texas, Center for Study of Human Resources, 1974); James L. Walker, Economic Development, Black Employment, and Black Migration in the Nonmetropolitan Deep South, (Austin: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, 1974).
63. Blacks, however, have been under represented in skilled labor occupations. A serious concern with anti-poverty must think in terms of opening access to earning opportunities rather than in terms of restricted entrance in order to keep the remuneration high for those protected. Perhaps a rethinking is in order to all limits on entrance to semi-skilled construction jobs or requirements for union certification. Coupled with increased entrance should be emphasis on decreasing the prices of goods and

services across-the-board wherever possible. In building, for example, if government sanctioned restrictions on entry into occupations were removed, this should lower the costs at which carpentry, plumbing, brick masonry, and other repair and building services could be performed, allow more people the opportunity to earn a productive livelihood, and permit more individuals to make repairs and improvements, thus providing an overall economic stimulation.

64. Marshall, p. 16.
65. Here again, the distinction should be kept in mind between the kind of development which is beneficial primarily to merchants, banks, lending institutions, real estate brokers or land speculators, or contracting firms, and the kind of development which allows for the low-wage employment of persons with limited marketable skills without increasing their opportunity costs.
66. For a family calculating how to spend limited income, a lower cost is at least as effective as a larger income. If the costs are sufficiently low, the question of subsidization of the consumer by grant (for rent, for food, for housing, for education), which is really as much of a subsidization of the providing industry (which can continue its level of sales without reducing the costs to make its products viable without artificial support by selling at the subsidized price) as it is assistance to the poor, is completely eliminated, along with the regulations, administrative costs, and attendant problems. If costs are subsidized, the industry is subsidized, and is insulated from incentive to effectuate cost reductions which would be necessary in the absence of the subsidization.
67. Marshall notes that economists often ignore community benefits which are likely to be consequences of successful community organization, such as political participation. Furthermore, many rural residents are likely to hold only marginal jobs anyway. It may well be preferable to work in rural areas close to where they now live than to hold marginal low-wage jobs in urban areas. "Finally, marginal firms are likely to do more than high wage, capital intensive enterprises to promote employment, even though the workers are likely to be low-wage by urban standards." Marshall, p. 17.
68. Strategies of Change in the Rural South, p. 277.
69. Goldschmidt, p. 175.
70. Peter Barnes, "Buying Back the Land," in The People Land, pp. 228 - 234. Cf.: L.G. Liguitti and John C. Rowe, Rural Roads to Security: America's Third Struggle for Freedom (Milwaukee, 1940), and Frank L. Owsley, "Pillars of Agrarianism," American Review (March, 1935), excerpted in Van Sickle, Planning for the South, pp. 80ff.

71. Jefferson opined:

Legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore.... is a politic measure, and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessing the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise.

72. Hightower and DeMarco note that the major share of research in rural housing has been directed to those who profit from the construction and maintenance of houses rather than the people who live in them. Other "people oriented" projects, they feel, tend to be irrelevant studies of characteristics stemming more from curiosity than any (effectual) desire to change conditions. Jim Hightower and Susan DeMarco, "The Land Grant College Complex," In The People's Land, p. 90.

73. Ibid., p. 92. Hightower and DeMarco note that "If mechanization research has been a boom to agribusiness, it has been a bane to millions of rural Americans." They add that "There is nothing inevitable about agribusiness domination of agriculture." Ibid., pp. 92-95. To the extent that rural America today is not a place millions of additional Americans could live and work in dignity and production it is a product of ultimately political rather than inevitable decisions determined by the market. Rodale notes that "A continuation of present land-grant college actions and philosophy will insure that there is no alternative to the destructive course of U.S. agriculture." Robert Rodale, "Organic Technology," in The People's Land, p. 99.

74. "At a time when poor Southerners are starting to earn a living growing labor intensive specialties like okra, tomatoes, sweet potatoes and cucumbers... USDA is developing strains of the same vegetables which can be harvested mechanically." Nick Kotz, "The Poor People's Co-ops," in The People's Land, p. 206.

75. Reduced cost technology refers to the development of machinery which is marketed at less cost and thus can be more reasonably available to purchasers without the requisite of extensive volume sales and capitalization. The branch experiment stations might well serve as rental centers for more expensive equipment among small scale farmers and gardeners by renting equipment to them at daily costs which would allow the advantages of technology to utilized on acerages which are not large enough to allow individual investment in expensive equipment.

76. C. E. Bishop, "The Urbanization of Rural America: Implications for Agricultural Economics," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1967), p. 1006.

77. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 279. 218

LOOKING FOWARD: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Statistical vs Experiential Poverty

It is necessary that those who seek to shape or direct anti-poverty programs strive at the outset for a clear, precise answer to the questions of 1) what is poverty, 2) who and where are the poor, and 3) what are their descriptive characteristics. If the planner is to locate those target groups who are in need and plan programs to eradicate conditions under which poverty is produced and thrives, such answers must be primarily statistical.

However, the truth is that statistics, correlations, and tables of cross-classification of the poor and their distribution can only delineate the bare perimeters of poverty. To look at the poor as numerical categories scarcely brings into comprehension the fact that each figure represents a human entity for whom the sensations of poverty are a daily experience of "deprivation and hopelessness, of hunger and despair, of filth and disease and personal humiliation, of physical misery and hopeless anger."¹

The vignettes following are not meant to deny any literaturistic or emotional values that might be derived from the familial or individual strength of those millions of Americans for whom poverty and deprivation of life circumstances has been an arena of challenge which they have met with valor-- whites of limited inheritance, blacks carrying the burden of generations of limited opportunity-- a list that is graphically emotional and endless, containing many episodes of an heroic consistency which allowed some partial or total escape from poverty for their offspring if not for themselves, and many trapped in a vicious circle of struggle and victimization wherein they had no choice but to hand down a legacy of poverty that was self-perpetuating. As the following examples illustrate, poverty is a reality whose experiential dimensions are scarcely circumscribed by statistics alone.²

The hand-to-mouth feeling of having no money for tomorrow.

The smell of wood smoke that hangs over Southern shantytowns, symptomatic of scant heat and pinchgut rations.

A condition of being in which one's past and future meet in the present as static, limited, and irredeemably expendible.

Small children crowded into tiny rooms with no heat and sharp winter and wind cutting through cracked glass.

Victimization by vandals and everybody who issues credit.

Rutted roads, sour-smelling tenement blocks filled with pervasive odors and dampness.

The death of hope, the decay of will and spirit.

The "psychological poor" who manage to eat enough to keep going but who suffer as keenly as those below them on the economic ladder because they have so little hope of ever enjoying what the rest of society routinely enjoys.

Deprivation as a permanent, even hereditary way of life as opposed to temporary exclusion from the good things of one's society.

The point is not to deny that amounts of poverty are self-determined and sometimes self-inflicted (an obvious example being reflected in activities in the maternity ward wherein there is a pattern of reproductive behavior which breeds and ensures poverty), nor to deny persons a choice of a poverty life style wherein it is not the responsibility of the collective to intervene. It is to point out, however, that for those who suffer the deprivations of poverty the condition of being poor with all the concomitants and accouterments of that status have a reality which statistics and correlations are inadequate to convey.

Relative vs Absolute Poverty

Poverty is both relative and absolute in character. Inability to buy food, clothing, shelter, education, medical attention to a level where the most elemental needs of the family are met may be considered the absolute aspect of poverty. The relative aspect accrues from the fact that every product and every service is largely socially determined; it is easier to be poor if all in one's family, community, or circle of friends are also poor. In such a country as the United States where communication is highly developed, and poverty usually includes automotive vehicles, television, access to a school system providing basic educational potential, and myriad social services from agencies which exhort themselves to seek out clientele as beneficiaries, it is harder for the individual to take comfort in mutual poverty.³

Diversity of the Poor

In any statistically based summary of the extensiveness and magnitude of poverty we need to remind ourselves, as Richard Barringer observes in a report on poverty in Massachusetts by a faculty study group sponsored by the Institute of Politics in the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, "those who are poor have proven to be far more heterogeneous and far more widely distributed than policy makers have given them credit for." Just as there is no "typical" American, there is no "typical" poor American.⁴

Persons in poverty fall into many mutually exclusive categories and are victims of a variety of circumstances. Poverty includes persons of all ages, races, and phases of the life cycle. Nevertheless, the frequency of the incidence of poverty is much greater among certain demographic categories. The aged, members of fatherless families, those with low formal education attainment, members of larger families, are categories which demonstrate a greater than average incidence of poverty in contrast to members of small families, male headed families, or members of families whose head has attained higher levels of formal education. Within each category, however, there are many who are not poor, while many of the poor do live in male headed families, small families, and families which have not been educationally deprived. Furthermore, many of the demographic traits associated with poverty tend to appear in clusters, and are mutually reinforcing.

Poverty is a Distributional Problem

American poverty is probably historically unique in that given American productivity "poverty is purely distributional, and not a matter of overall income or the productivity of the economy."⁵ We have the paradox of alleged hunger (and decline in food consumption resulting from recent price escalations)⁶ combined with policies to limit food production in order to maintain high prices which in turn are combined with policies which have the effect of increasing production (agricultural research) and of increasing the capital accumulation necessary in order to enter the arena of agricultural production (supply management agricultural policy). We face the anomaly of surplus unemployment, but restrictive policies on entry into apprenticeship programs combined with minimum-wage laws which force numbers of the unskilled, marginally productive into unemployment.

Poverty in the United States is not an inevitable consequence of an industrial system that is unable to produce sufficient goods to cover needs. In other words, the basic problem is not so much in solving problems of production, but in making a more equitable distribution. At the bottom of this economic inadequacy is the sharply unequal distribution of income and wealth.⁷ Hunger is not due to the inability of American society to produce sufficient food. While some degree of joblessness may well be due to an inability of the economy to generate sufficient employment at wages which all would like to receive, joblessness is not improved by policies which limit production or employability.

However, this does not mean that poverty is a matter wherein a prosperous but penurious society can simply transfer to the poor an amount which will ipso presto make them nonpoor. The delusion that the poverty gap could be closed by an appropriation equal to it ignores the human dynamic. If direct payments equalized payments for the poor, many low wage earners would leave the work force since for them the income floor would be a ceiling that would result in massive withdrawals by those working at lower-paid unpleasant jobs who would recognize no monetary gain from continued work. Furthermore, the cost of closing any income gap through unconditional payments would always cost far more than 100% of the deficit.⁸

THEORIES OF POVERTY ETIOLOGY

As a background to strategic decisions, it is useful to categorize the causes of poverty in today's economy. Assessment of the causes of poverty is influential on the kind of ameliorative recommendations which are thought appropriate. Anti-poverty efforts, whether preventive or palliative, are ultimately based on decisions as to the causal factors in poverty and of the characteristics of the poor. Social scientists and policy makers concerned with poverty have long sought to articulate their efforts into theories of poverty both as an intellectual problem and as motivation for action.¹⁰ This section seeks to review some of the ways that causal explanations of poverty are categorized. It is important to recognize that these theoretical explanations are not mutually exclusive.

Folklore Theories

Some of the popular notions about poverty can be properly assigned to folklore. Among these are the following sometimes explanations of the existence of poverty:

1. Society needs the threat of poverty to induce work and sobriety in the lower classes.¹¹
2. All the well-to-do are rich only because others are poor and/or exploited.
3. If none were poor unpleasant jobs would not be done so that there is an intentional conspiracy to keep some persons poor.¹²
4. The "middle-class" has a psychological need to exclude a minority from above poverty living standards.

Whatever exceptions may exist wherein there are well-to-do persons who obtained their position at the expense of the less fortunate or where there has been economic exploitation of an individual or group,¹³ it would be more hallucinogenic than accurate to regard these monocausal explanations as comprehensive descriptive theories of poverty.¹⁴

Events Beyond Individual Control

One cannot look at the data on who are poor without sensing that many are poor because of events beyond their control. These include:

1. Chance assignment to poor parents.
2. Membership in an oversize family.
3. Affliction with disability or illness.

4. Premature death of family breadwinner.
5. Declining demand for services in one's occupation, industry, or place of residence.
6. Outliving of one's savings.
7. Economic consequences of the political problem of inflation.¹⁵
8. Financially disastrous medical needs.

For many persons who are otherwise "normal" poverty may be said to arise out of one or a combination of such happenings. This is why it is important for anti-poverty efforts to be of both a pallative (meeting of immediate needs) and preventive (keeping the poverty status from arising) variety.

Externally Oppressed Subsociety

In this view, the culturally transmitted pathologies of the poor have their etiology in the denial of resources to the poor. Since the disadvantaged position of the poor is primarily due to the behavior of the higher strata who prevent the redistribution of resources, elimination of poverty requires revolutionary accession to power by representatives of the poor and consequent radical alteration of the whole society and redistribution of resources before poverty can be eliminated.¹²

"Case" Theory of Poverty

"Case" theory of poverty means that however general poverty may be or how concentrated it may be among categories of persons, it is viewed as the result of processes that occur individual by individual, i.e., poverty is seen as the result of individual misfortunes and deficiencies rather than the result of general social trends and phenomena.

Tussig has pointed out that a "welfare program that is not a 'welfare program' " is not inconsistent with a "case" theory of poverty as an extension of individual private provision for calamities as long as it does not recognize conferral of benefits on the non-needy as "welfare."¹⁷ The poor people's welfare programs, he feels, tend to be demeaning, with public recognition that the taxpayer-recipient relationship is improper:

They are used in an inter-governmental competition to repel the poor population; they impose disincentives to ambition, thrift, and family stability... the division of most social policy into "regular" programs maintained for the nonpoor, and "special" programs for the poor, has the effect of separating... the interests of the poor from

those of the working class, to the disadvantage of all.... The principal gainers from this misdirected version of the class struggle are, of course, the rich themselves.¹⁸

Culture of Poverty Theory

This theory holds that poverty is sustained by a life style common to most poor people. The poverty subculture, from this perspective, is a disorganized, pathological culture in the anthropological sense which is self-generating in that it perpetuates the cultural patterns of the group as well as the individual psycho-social inadequacies of its members which hinder ascent from poverty.

The actual conditions of low income life are such that the distinctive "culture of poverty" which provides the poor with a design for living is determined by the structural conditions within which the existence of the poor takes place. The "culture of poverty" life style is composed of a set of behavioral norms which are conducive to matriarchial patterns of child rearing, apathy, defeatism, compensatory copulation, excessive concern with ostensible masculinity among males, hopelessness, reliance on fate and chance, absence of ingrained patterns of deferred gratification or futurism, all of which "enable the poor to live without reflection upon filth and violence in their environment, and provide the basis for accepting deviant and criminal modes of making a living as proper."¹⁹

These attitudes and norms coalesce into a comprehensive framework for understanding life and coping with miserable conditions. This frame of reference is a social heredity that is self-perpetuating and is intergenerationally transferred. The highly integrated network of attitudes, behavioral norms, and social patterns insure the longitudinal carryover of a culture (commonly accepted ways of acting and thinking) of poverty. This life style is a functionally inevitable product of poverty which facilitates their survival at the same time it tends to be self-perpetuating.²⁰

Structurally Mandated Poverty

Although the behavior patterns characteristic of the culture of poverty are the functional responses necessary to cope with external conditions, the culture of poverty concept sees the poor as a deviant group. However, to the extent that poverty is structurally mandated, focus on the characteristics and personal inadequacies of the poor will contribute little to the solution of the problem. To the extent that poverty is structurally mandated, it can be removed only by basic changes in the economic and political system.²¹

"Income Strategy" vs "Services Strategy"

Valentine states that the 1960s were characterized by debate between "proponents of the 'services strategy' and those who favored 'income strategies' in the 'war against poverty.'" Barringer observes:

"Poverty is a matter of goods and services. Neither an "income" nor a "service" strategy is adequate by itself... only a strategy that delivers both goods and services can give poor people the means to conquer their poverty. Delivery of both means not only designing "delivery systems" and making programs available, but also ensuring that the poor have access to them and that they are in fact responsive to the needs of the poor themselves.

Barringer feels that perhaps the best approach is to implement programs which are needed by the entire population, and by the poor especially. As Barringer points out regarding services to which the private market is not currently responsive-- health care, police protection, consumer protection-- "To deliver them to all is to remove the stigma attaching to services delivered exclusively to the poor and so to make such services more accessible to all the poor."²⁴

Barringer feels that the question of "how one prevents programs designed for everybody from becoming responsive only to those who already have the wealth..." and insure that programs delivering services to everyone remain responsive to the needs of the poor is to build "access mechanisms into the institutions that deliver these services, and in fostering competition, wherever possible, among public, private, and non profit deliverers of services."

...access mechanisms must be established to allow consumers of services to voice their requirements and grievances effectively, and organizational mechanisms established to encourage them to voice these in a concerted fashion. In the public sector... this suggests introduction of the "consumer advocate" concept... such an office would provide a point of access for dissatisfied consumers of the service...²⁵

Barringer adds that "it is worth suggesting... that both the public and private means of delivering services have become concentrated to a degree that demands a conscious governmental policy of promoting competition among various possible delivery systems and mechanisms....

it is unlikely, for example, that the public education systems in virtually every city and suburban town would do anything but benefit from competing directly with alternative systems for limited, fixed sources of financial support."²⁶

Inclusiveness vs Sequestration

The principle of inclusiveness²⁷ provides a general guide by which those programs which are undertaken by government should be structured wherever possible. As Bird and McCoy point out in their study of rural poverty in America, "the needed new program emphasis should be toward unified efforts that provide continuing opportunities for all citizens rather than further polarization and fragmentation of special groups."²⁸ The principle of inclusiveness challenges those programs justified in terms of diffuse support to the needy but which in fact accomplish a redistribution of resources away from the lower middle, working, and poverty classes toward the non-needy.²⁹

When public benefits are provided (whether these are of a social service nature, sanitary or recreational facilities, public institutions such as schools or hospitals), in general the best results can be obtained when maximal opportunity for access is available among the entire community. It is least provided when the general services are largely captured by a select group, or the effort to counterbalance this maldistribution results in special selection of representatives from the disequalized strata as opposed to generally open access.

Perhaps the most direct way that citizens can signal government of the appropriateness, desirability, and necessity of services is by what they would select in an arena of maximum choice. This determination, in terms of education for example, would be what educational programs would be chosen at an enabling level by persons seeking education.³⁰ Rather than the creation of privileged positions (perhaps by the limited opportunities for entry) though limitations³¹ on access, it would seek to maximize access. In support of higher education, for example, making of tuition expenditures (at least to the average amount of cost to attend a state university) a tax credit item would have a direct enabling effect on those who needed and/or desired higher education completely free from invidious choices. It would probably be the most straightforward form of assistance that could be taken with respect to allowing the citizen to take advantage of educational opportunities. Colberg has observed:³²

The new emphasis on the general idea of combatting poverty is more appropriate than of aiding particular industries (agriculture) or regions (Area Redevelopment). When aid is not given on a personal basis much of it is certain to go to those who do not need it (Large federal payments to wealthy farmers are prime examples). However, a federally

sponsored anti-poverty program would hold more promise if it were not accompanied by countervailing efforts to raise the federal minimum wage, to maintain high agricultural prices, to restore "fair trading," to encourage unionization of labor, and to minimize the power of local government units which are best able to determine who are actually the poor.

Structural Reform vs Increased Volume

Few subjects are more emotionally charged than how public policy should be used to influence the distribution of income. For many years a major alteration sought in the welfare system has been one of increasing the "adequacy" of benefit levels. This effort has been successful in accomplishing the redistribution of more and more resources to the poor. However, with a resultant larger and more complex welfare system, the cost of transferring additional resources to low-income families has increased in that "each additional billion dollars redistributed becomes more difficult to finance, and a smaller part of each additional billion can be feasibly transferred." Consequently, Browning feels, efforts to improve the welfare system should now be directed toward structural reform rather than to increase the volume of redistribution. The need is to substantially improve the well being of the poor without the destructive by-product of increased tax costs. Reform is urgent, he says, not because of inadequate benefit levels, but because of the inequities, high administrative costs, and distortions that characterize the present system.

Browning feels that a simple welfare system is necessary if it is to be understood well enough to make informed judgments on distributional matters. "When the system cannot easily be understood, effective control will gravitate to the 'experts,' that is, the bureaucracy... what is needed is not the addition of some new system, but a major overhaul designed to streamline and simplify the entire system" to one which can be easily understood.³³

Rule Change vs Transitional Equity

Hochman has pointed out that "too often the professional analyst, in seeking a remedy for inefficiency or injustice, rests public policy discussion on simplified comparisons of the actual and the ideal. The costs of transition from the actual state to ideal are de-emphasized."³⁴

There is little argument about compensating owners for private property taken through condemnation... But it is often unclear whether these are the only rights infringed. Destruction of familiar neighborhoods is itself costly, and many of the social difficulties of such programs derive from

their effects on the intangible human capital of residents who are not property owners. The ethnic or racial characteristics of these residents may, moreover, be well-defined. Can it be said then that they are not identifiable and that the rule change... affects the terms of the transactions rather than the rights of specific individuals?... the fact that the transaction may render compensation uneconomic has no bearing on the ethical issue at stake.³⁴

The fact is that "on-going societies cannot often correct unfair outcomes without creating collateral harms. Indeed, one can go further and argue that the interim effects of well-intentioned change are important not only because transitional fairness is a matter of serious normative concern but also because they may substantially alter the final outcome of the change."³⁵

Cultural vs Structural Interpretation

How much poverty exists because of the "culture of poverty" and how much is structurally mandated is an unsettled if not indeterminable question. Both the structural view and the "culture of poverty" perspective see the special characteristics of the poor as arising from the fact that they are poor. The ameliorative steps which are thought most urgent or applicable to some extent depend on the view which one takes toward the etiology of poverty.

For cultural theorists, the critical problem is to interrupt the cycle of poverty by directly attacking the values and behavior that support it. They feel that unless such a specific attack is undertaken to remotivate the poor to compete for success and educate them to become consumers and compete effectively in the job market through training in job skills and inculcation of appropriate attitudinal requirements, the poverty syndrome will continue in self-generating fashion. Specific policy requirements include a broad range of social services designed to resocialize the poor to behavioral and attitudinal patterns that foster social mobility. Focus is on the individual.

Structural theorists, on the other hand, assume that structural change in the employment, education, health, and housing markets is requisite. The structural solution is the more radical since it demands changes in social organization.³⁶ Focus is on the social structure as the causative agent. Since the poverty syndrome consists of reactions to structural conditions, elimination of poverty requires the elimination of the structural conditions which cause the behavioral and attitudinal manifestations associated with poverty. In practice, of course, ameliorative approaches are often combined with the effort being made where

possible to bring about change to make the structure more responsive to the poor while at the same time attempting to inculcate those skills which will enable the poor to compete with less impediments to social mobility.

Evaluation and Implementation

One of the difficulties in the early days of the "War on Poverty" has been stated by Dye as "The Office of Economic Opportunity was always the scene of great confusion. New and untried programs were organized at breakneck speed."³⁷ Irrespective of the validity of this observation, there is little question but that any recommendations should be carefully evaluated by legislators³⁸ before being implemented. Plans need to be carefully evaluated in terms of their overall impact as well as for possible unintended consequences. Price, in his study of rural-urban mobility for the OEO, quoted Varden Fuller on the manner in which social programs, once implemented, can have unfortunate unintended consequences:

When the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Land-Grant College system was initiated... it was with the anticipation that, if farmers could be helped to be more productive they would prosper and the foundations of Jeffersonian rural life would be strengthened. It was a populist and rural fundamentalist idea. But... the Land-Grant College Act was to become probably the most influential prometropolitan step ever undertaken by the national government. The expected new farm technology... contributed more to the obsolescence of farmers than to their prosperity.³⁹

A careful consideration of the overall effect of any contemplated plan is a necessity for wise decision making. Too frequently, enthusiastic reformers have asserted that a particular change in institutional structure would bring about changes in public policy by assuming on the basis of a priori logic that institutional changes will bring about policy changes without recognizing that if underlying environmental forces remain constant institutional alterations may have little impact on public policy.⁴⁰

As political scientist Thomas Dye has observed, today's "welfare dilemmas" is the product of more than thirty years of rational planning... initially presented to the nation as rational approaches to the problems of the poor. Yet none of these programs has succeeded in eliminating poverty all these programs have produced serious unanticipated consequences. Welfare rolls continue to rise... assistance does not get to many Americans who deserve it. It is frequently accepted with bitterness by those who were intended to benefit from it."⁴¹

The important point is that implementation of plans need to be based on a careful consideration of their entire range of effect since the "unanticipated consequences" may be counter productive but, like the egg which cannot be unscrambled, may prove particularly difficult to deal with. Prescriptions and forecasting of the effect of a course of implementation is largely structured by the philosophical underpinnings of the perspective from which a situation is viewed. Consequently, it is especially important that the externalities of a program be given careful and accurate analysis.

This difficulty is further compounded when a system becomes almost incomprehensible. For example, as Browning points out, the federal House of Representatives passed a version of the Family Assistance Plan which would have unintentionally imposed marginal tax rates above 100 percent on millions of people, illustrating dramatically how "misunderstanding the system can have extreme unintended consequences."⁴² Pilot programs prior to launching massive attacks are often advisable.⁴³

STEPS TOWARD AMELIORATION

The final part of this chapter presents three analytical models for the analysis and interpretation of the data compiled in this study for the use of action agencies. This section seeks to highlight some questions that may be of particular salience regarding legislative steps and directions which may be taken to improve the quality of life in Mississippi as part of a comprehensive anti-poverty policy.

Policies Relating To Migration

Free and unrestricted movement has long been part of the heritage of the American people. Migration is the classic way by which populations respond to area differentials in economic opportunity. There is a generally consistent finding that black migrants from the rural South do at least as well in terms of income and employment as blacks with similar characteristics who are native to the North. The willingness of rural blacks to accept positions which do not provide the income, status, or dignity sufficient to interest unemployed urban natives seems to be a factor.⁴⁴

The frequent but casually journalistic imputation of urban problems to rural migration has been questioned if not outrightly refuted by empirical research.⁴⁵ To whatever extent population decline or out-movement can be regarded as a "loss" from a purely economic or a "quality of life" perspective it would seem to be a quid pro quo for receiving areas.⁴⁶ To the extent that migration relieves areas of out-movement and results in benefits to out-migrants it should be encouraged in the sense of providing the individual with the best training or

education possible in order for him to make effective use of his talents and ambitions.⁴⁷ Employment information linkage should be such as to provide information to State residents with information on viable employment possibilities throughout the county.⁴⁸

Under present arrangements persons who are displaced from agriculture often have limited options to remain in rural areas. Marshall has suggested that "The appropriate public policy objective would appear to be to increase the options available to rural people, not to either force them to leave or stay."⁴⁹

Selective Placement Programs

The State might well give attention to selective placement programs to assist the handicapped in employment within State government. Such a program could be modeled after the selective placement programs which the Federal Civil Service Commission uses to help the handicapped obtain employment with the government. The State might have at least one coordinator for selective placement with specific responsibility for assuring that qualified handicapped applicants receive full consideration for employment.⁵⁰

Regressive Taxation

Sales taxes are prime examples of regressive taxes. The proportion of income spent on sales taxes increases as income decreases because the tax rate is the same for all income levels. Although revenue from food taxes helps finance social services, education, garbage collection and other functions of direct or incidental benefit to the poor, the food tax places a special financial burden on the poor. Furthermore, sales taxes on food greatly affects the poor because the low income population spends a greater proportion of their income on food. A 1975 study by the National Consumers Congress revealed that the average low-income family spends about 53% of its income on food, in contrast to the national average of 20%.⁵¹

Statistics show that the sales tax on food costs a Missouri family of four \$150 a year, which amounts to 1% of the income of a family earning \$15,000 a year, and 5% for a family earning \$3,000 a year. The tax rate in Mississippi is more than in Missouri. Table 1 lists the States which have repealed sales taxes of food plus the sales tax on food in other States.

Estimated total expenditures for State government in Mississippi during fiscal 1976 accounted for nearly 18% of the personal income of Mississippi's citizenry, compared to about 14% for all Southern States. Mississippi spends a 20% larger percentage of personal income on education and 60% higher percentage on transportation than other Southern States. Mississippians pay more State taxes per capita than do citizens of any surrounding State.⁵²

TABLE 1

STATE'S WHICH HAVE REPEALED SALES TAXES ON FOOD AND PERCENTAGE OF
SALES TAX LEVY ON FOOD PURCHASES IN OTHER STATES

Who's Got It		Who's Rid of It Year Repealed	
Alabama	4%	Nebraska	2.5%
Arizona	3%	Nevada	2%
Arkansas	3%	New Mexico	4%
Colorado	3%	North Carolina	3%
District of Columbia	2%	Oklahoma	2%
Georgia	3%	South Carolina	4%
Hawaii	4%	South Dakota	4%
Idaho	3%	Tennessee	3.5%
Illinois	4%	Utah	4%
Kansas	3%	Virginia	3%
Mississippi	5%	Washington	4.5%
Missouri	3%	West Virginia	3%
		Wyoming	3%
		Indiana	1973
		Iowa	1974
		Kentucky	1972
		Louisiana	1974
		Michigan	1975
		North Dakota	1973
		Ohio	1971

Source: CNI, Volume, V, N., 47, p. 4.

Increasing Employment Opportunities (Education and Credentialing)

The structural development of industrial and service jobs in low-income areas needs to be encouraged³³ as do programs which promise some actual success in providing the necessary training or skills to become employable. Whatever merit formal education may possess in terms of ascetic benefits, tendencies toward reconceptualization of social and political issues, and liberalization of attitudes, or employment of providers and support personnel, it can no longer be seriously argued that increased expenditures for formal education necessarily result in area improved levels-of-living.

If the underprivileged of an area are the criteria of judgment, industrial expansion must be of a nature which allows for maximum employment of local area labor rather than recruitment of outside technicians and laborers. This means that development which can utilize the skills of the available labor pool rather than developments which impose an increased work force and population growth on a community are of a particular importance. Frequently, this will involve low wage and labor intensive industry rather than capital intensive high income manufacturing.

There are certain things that are legislatively impossible no matter how much there may be a desire to obtain "full employment" or "high wage jobs." There are several things which a legislature can do,

and particularly which it can avoid doing, in order to maximize⁵⁴ employment opportunities. These include:

Education

All Mississippians should have the opportunity to pursue technical, practical, academic, and other educational opportunities to the maximum limit of their interest, initiative, ability, aptitude, and determination. Accomplishment of this objective requires 1) provision of facilities, and 2) means of access. Although there has been much talk of the relevance of education, it is important that educational opportunities are relevant to the interest and aptitudes of persons who desire to be educated in a particular area or enterprise. This means that the provision of education must be balanced in terms of what consumers seek in terms of opportunities for entry.⁵⁴

The legislature might well consider whether the opportunities for entry into various areas of enterprise are balanced in terms of the actual desire to enter into occupational areas. For example, if a major in, say, marketing, is available at, say, five or so universities, while nursing is available, in say only two or three, or entry into other medical programs (doctoral or otherwise) is limited by comparison, it may be that what is provided in terms of educational access is funneling students into an area which they would not choose in a free arena. That a relatively higher percentage of students may graduate in certain fields because these are available, while desired areas of enterprise are not available, is hardly a plus mark for the educational system.

Schiff has observed that while "it is possible to run an industrial economy without psychologists, sociologists, and philosophy majors, it is not possible to run it without tool-and-die men, plumbers, crews who can operate drilling rigs and string high tension wires." He further notes that while circa 30% of the American population was enrolled in school-- nursery through college-- less than one-half of one percent of this figure was enrolled in a labor apprenticeship program.⁵⁵ Banfield states that

....People who claim to know about statistics say that only 15 percent of the kids (persons) in college are capable... of getting what used to be thought of as an education... people at the bottom of the heap, the ones that constitute to themselves and to the rest of society the most recalcitrant social problems, are not going to get onto the mobility escalator, education... we haven't figured out how to do it. Since it is such a big item in local government expenditure, it might be a place to spend a lot of attention.⁵⁶

Facilities should be provided and encouraged for the training of all applicants who wish to go into a vocational area to be able to do so assuming a desire and reasonable ability to compete in the studies necessary to achieve competence in the activity. In this sense, the State should provide sufficient facilities to educate as many State residents (of any age, any income level) as there are residents who wish to be educated in any area.

Artificial Credentialing

Artificial credentialing is a frequently adopted method of blocking entry into an occupational arena. There is a strong temptation for vocational areas to attempt to enhance the image of their vocation (frequently associated with the effort to convince the public that this vocational category should have the accouterments, deferences and privileges of recognized professions) by increasing the requirements for entry. The State should carefully guard against being a party to the imposition of artificial credentialing and educational barriers to block entry into vocational areas.

A concrete example is provided by the vocation of dental assistant. Whereas dentists are free to hire and train personnel as they need them to do what they need done, the growth of junior college training of dental assistants may result in legislative pressure to require that all dental assistants meet educational specifications. Such an effort, primarily in the interest of the providers of education, and those persons who have chosen the education rather than the on-the-job learning route, would effectively disfranchise persons from opportunity for employment in an area in which persons can be office trained satisfactorily. To impose educational requirements in order to increase scarcity in an occupational area (which is not needed by dentists or consumers) for the benefit of providers of educational services is the kind of artificial credentialing that the legislature should assiduously avoid.

Relevant educational requirements rather than extraneous requirements are also in order. Vocational schools which train individuals to accomplish the tasks of the vocation to be learned are to be encouraged, particularly where such schools are associated with the vocation itself rather than an extraneous educational provider. Hospital schools of nursing are a case in point. Extraneous educational requirements, such as social science type subjects, should not be imposed on individuals who seek entry into occupational areas.⁵⁷ Those who wish to study, sociology, for example, should be free to do so if their own interest and personal predilections should incline them toward this discipline. However, those who wish to be, say, nurses, should not have such extraneous requirements imposed upon them in order to get into a vocational area. A particular provider, however, should certainly have the right to impose whatever requirements it desires upon those persons in its own program.

The State should encourage the development of private and public, i.e., junior college and non-educationally affiliated providers (such as hospital schools of nursing) of vocational training. No competent or

interested person (competent to perform in that profession, not necessarily to meet irrelevant and extraneous educational requirements) should be turned away from some kind of opportunity to learn professional or trade skills.

Development of work-step opportunities for advancement in vocational areas could be pursued in order to assist individuals in advancing beyond revolving door jobs. According to Topol, within New York City the position of nurse's aid has changed from a dead end hospital orderly job "which had no dignity and which no.... welfare person would accept" to a vocation with "opportunities to go now from nurses's aid to licensed practical nurse to actually registered nurse on the job."⁵⁸

Neighborhood Amenities

Neighborhood amenities refer to important influences on the character of a habitat such as reactional, sanitary, and protective facilities which are usually collectively provided for a neighborhood. A common complaint in many low-income areas is inadequate police protection. Poor neighborhoods are likely to be areas of the highest incidence of crime.⁵⁹ Although there are no readily available statewide indices of police protection among neighborhoods, various areastudies have shown the matter of crime, victimization, and inadequate protection to be a major concern of residents of low-income neighborhoods. Although improvement in the efficiency of police protection is not often on the planning agenda as a method by which the quality of life in low income areas can be improved, the factor of crime prevention and police protection is frequently a major concern of inhabitants of low-income areas. It is suggested that this topic is one which in terms of its importance and concern to the poor does merit the consideration of legislators, planners, and other public officials in ways that are as immediate as possible in providing official protection from vandalism, theft, and other criminal activities.⁶⁰

Provision of adequate recreational facilities, and sufficient official protection for them to be utilized, is particularly important for low-income children since they have greater difficulty in going elsewhere to find amenities if they are not available in the area.⁶¹ There is evidence that other public facilities such as museums and the like are disproportionately utilized by the poor. Head Start Programs should seek to be an effective medium for acquainting pupils and parents with the range and availability of facilities which are provided by the collective society but whose use tends to be concentrated among limited segments of the population.

Retirement Plans

The creation of vested transferrable retirement plans should be encouraged. A program encouraging employers to participate in some form of vested retirement plan for employees should be considered. Such a plan

should 1) be vested in the individual, 2) represent an actuarially legitimate program of investment rather than a generational transfer 3) cover the occupations not currently covered by employee pension programs, 4) be transferrable among occupations by following the individual rather than the position, 5) be structured so as not to work a penalty on employees changing jobs or on employers hiring persons at the upper end of the life cycle. The formation and oversight of such a program may well be an appropriate State legislative function by providing incentive and/or enabling legislation at the State level.

Minimum Wage Legislation

The assumption that the contrived intervention of minimum wage legislation has direct or residual benefits to the poor rests more on faith than on fact. One of the most pervasive artificial limitations to effective anti-poverty policy consists of notions which get written into public policy which hurt the very people in whose name such policies were ostensibly and/or initially undertaken. Shenfield's observation that "social planners often appear to be less concerned in making the poor better-off than in making society conform more closely to their own ideas of social morality" ⁶² is too often true. The unfortunate result is that even what is taken to be the most forward and progressive of social science incantations may result in the perpetuation of collective myths which attain almost sacred quality but which represent counter productive incrementalism. ⁶³

Minimum wage legislation is perhaps one of those devices which arise by the desire of social planners to remove from society those evils which outrage their sensibilities or which appear on the surface to be ameliorative but which cannot be justified by any insight into the problems of poor people's lives. ⁶⁴ Most studies show a direct relationship between upward changes in legislated minimum wages and decreased employment among those most vulnerable to being artificially priced out of the labor market, particularly young persons of minority group membership. ⁶⁵ Naylor and Clotfelter, noting that "wage rates artificially inflated either through minimum wage laws or through union contracts serve as a deterrent to industrial development in the South" recommend that "minimum wage laws should, therefore, be abolished on both the federal and state levels." ⁶⁶ In addition to the impediment which minimum wage laws have presented to the general industrial development of the South, they have specifically hurt the poor by reducing employment opportunities, and by raising the costs of consumer goods, perhaps the worst and most severe form of exploitation of the poor and low-income families.

DATA UTILIZATION AND POLICY FORMULATION

This report has presented considerable detail on the poor in Mississippi in terms of their demographic and economic characteristics-- the geographic, racial, familial composition, employment status, and income distribution of the

poor in Mississippi. It has also indicated some of the anti-poverty programs which are addressed to general and specific groups. It has pointed out some problematic areas and some of the issues which are necessary to consider in the planning and effective implementation of anti-poverty programs.

The promise of Mississippi is great-- for it is yet a relatively unspoiled, unindustrialized, nonurbanized State with the prospect of its future development before it. Mississippi, in this enviable position, will do well to profit by the mistakes of others. As this report indicates, the needs of the State are also great. Though many of our current problems (low educational level, high illiteracy rates, high infant mortality rates) have emerged from our past history, our past has not saddled us with many of the infirmities characteristic of older industrialized areas-- our countryside is still viable, the course of our industrial development is in the future, our population concentrations not yet overwhelming in magnitude. There is yet time to consider the warnings expressed by the Twelve Southerners in I'll Take My Stand (1930) of a society always winning "Pyrrhic victories at points of no strategic significance" in a losing battle with those aspects of the life environment which allows man's existence to be most fully intergrated and harmonious.

The statistical data should be of assistance to legislators, administrators, and others in obtaining a capsule profile of who are the poor in Mississippi, and in recognizing some of the problems which they face. It should also provide a valuable working tool (see Appendix II, for example, which provides CAP application data for each county in the State), to those engaged in the application and evaluation process of efforts directed toward improving the quality of life for Mississippi residents.

Implications for Utilization

It would be simple but less than candid to conclude this report on the extent and distribution of poverty in Mississippi with a set of proposed solutions. For example, those anti-poverty efforts currently active could be cited with a proposal to double or triple the funding and outreach, or conditions could be cited, such as unemployment or illiteracy, and the recommendation could be made that more jobs be provided or that illiteracy be reduced. It is another thing, however, to state with specificity the exact program which will be effective in accomplishing increased employment or decreased illiteracy. These are questions which ultimately have to be resolved in the realm of ideas and debate.

This report has sought to provide a data base which can be utilized by those action agencies with mandates to engage in activities which are expected to have an impact on the causes and symptoms of poverty so they may utilize as much factual data as they can possibly bring to bear on the problems they attack.⁶⁷ A factual basis, plus an awareness of some issues which may be raised and consequences which may be a likely result of a

contemplated course of action, is necessary if planning is to be effective in charting salient course of action.

Analytical Models for Determining Staff Agency Response

As a means of assisting action agencies in the identification and interpretation of basic data in terms of the role of particular action agencies and what the facts mean with respect to agency resources, Sollie et al.,⁶⁸ have developed a dual model for the analysis of poverty data in terms of a symptoms-focused and cause-focused model. The basic procedure involved is reduction of abstract or complex terms to less complex terms to provide models which can be used at different levels, i.e., from concrete action programs to abstract theoretical orientations, in the identification and interpretation of data. The authors point out that for the great majority of action agencies working at the local level a focus on symptoms is appropriate in most instances, but those agencies must be aware that a symptoms focus aims for the alleviation of certain undesirable aspects of a particular problem and not the solution of the problem itself.

An action agency, viewing poverty from the causal perspective, might ascertain that a major cause of lack of adequate income is the absence of a saleable skill (Figure 1) or the absence of a source of employment for skills possessed. On the basis of this determination the agency would logically focus its remedial efforts on programs to provide work skills or to expand the supply of employment opportunities. Viewing family poverty from the symptoms perspective (Figure 2), another agency might determine that its most significant impact could be made in relation to health, in which their attention would be directed toward improvement of hygienic and dietary practices or health care utilization practices.

In causal model 2, two direct causes of family poverty are suggested along with subsequent levels of sufficient causes of the direct cause i.e., cause level II lists causes once removed from the problem. A typical statement drawn from this model might be: family poverty is caused by inefficient use of family resources, which in turn may be the result of a lack of knowledge, which in turn may be the result of inadequate education. Action agencies seeking to solve the problem of family poverty would be lead to focus on the causative factors from which the immediate cause is deduced by providing appropriate knowledge, understanding, and motivation through adequate education, communication, and socialization.

Figure 3 suggests some remedies which may be addressed to poverty symptoms. For instance, where inadequate housing is a symptom of poverty, legislators, planners, and action agencies might wish to focus on alleviating remedies, by turning attention to legislation, programs, or steps which would move in the direction of increasing available units, reducing costs, or providing repairs. Where the focus is on employment, remedial policies directed toward underemployment, unemployment, or inadequate remuneration through steps aimed at increasing opportunity and incentive would seem called for.

The actual implementation of remedies, whether these range from benign neglect to active intervention, is an issue to be resolved through

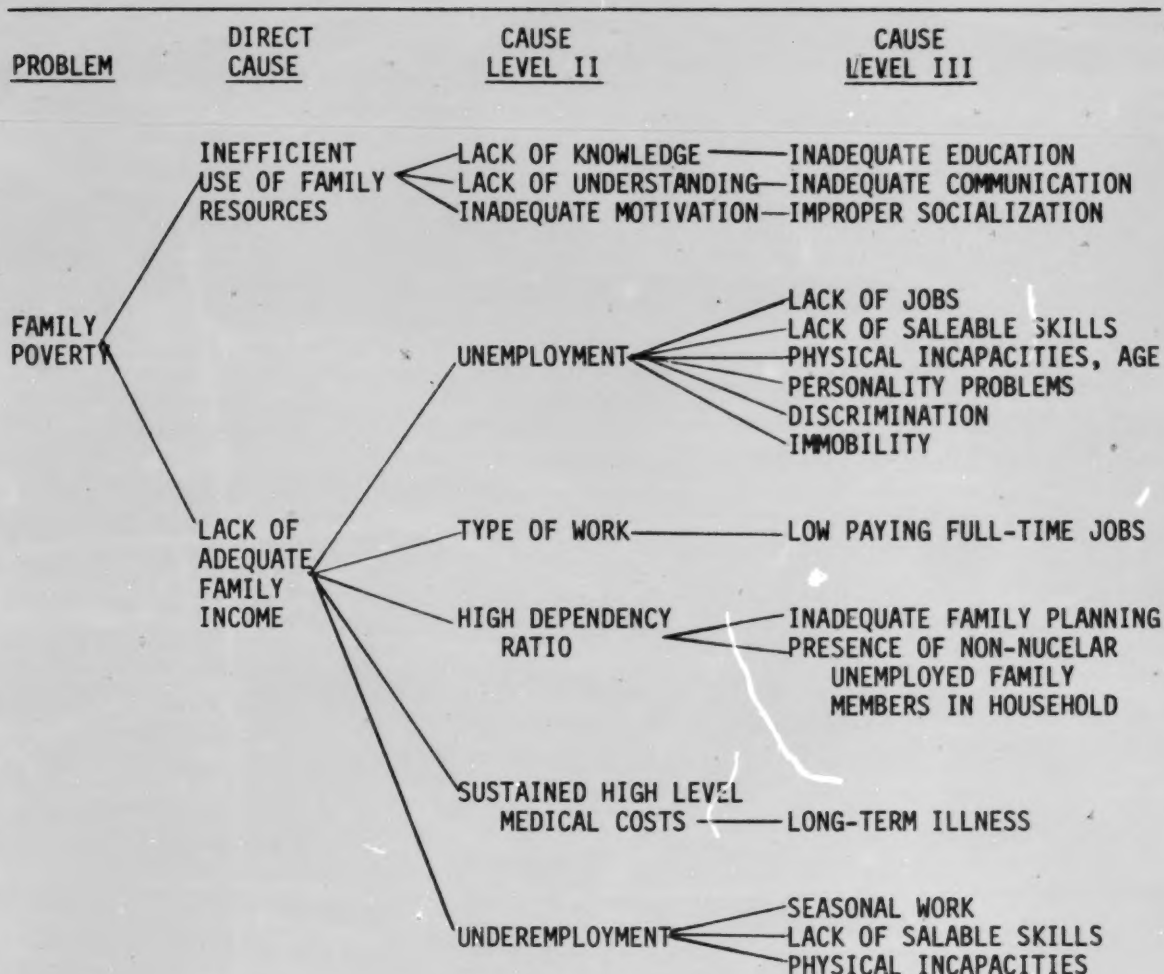


FIGURE 1: A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF POVERTY WITH THE FOCUS ON CAUSES.

Source: C. R. Sollie, et. al., Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970 (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975), p. 14.

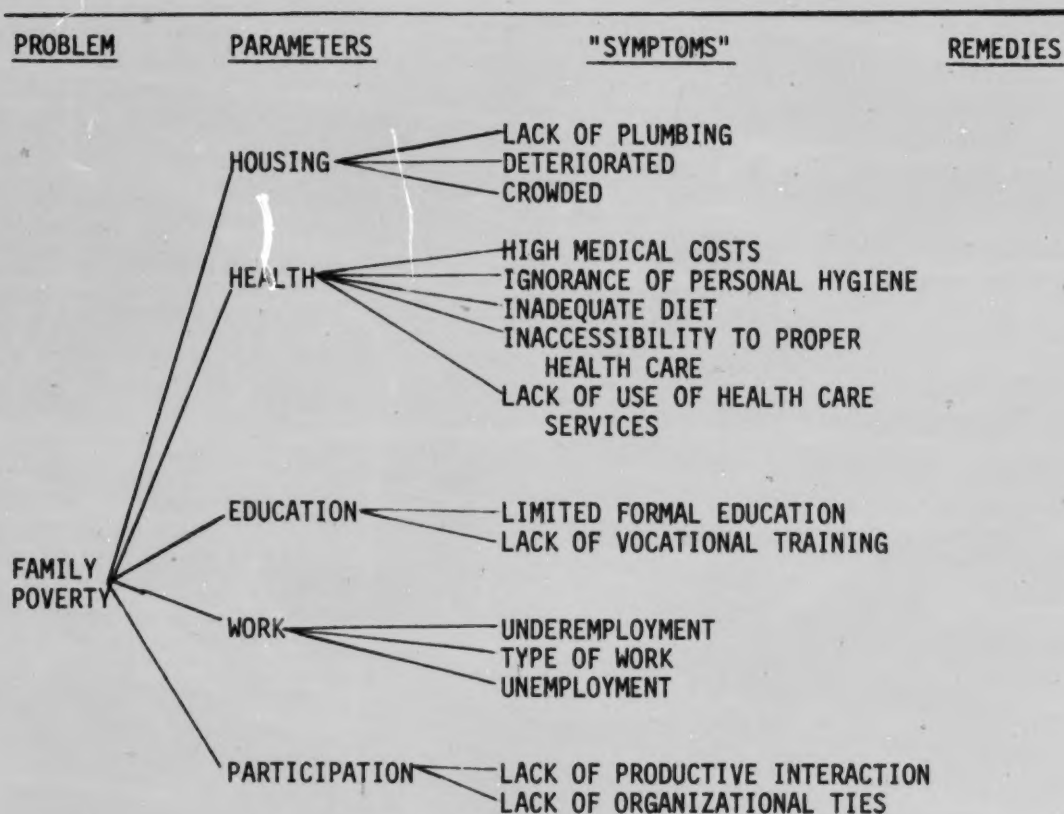


FIGURE 2. A MODEL FOR ANALYSIS OF POVERTY WITH THE
FOCUS ON SYMPTOMS.

Source: Adapted from Sollie, Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi.

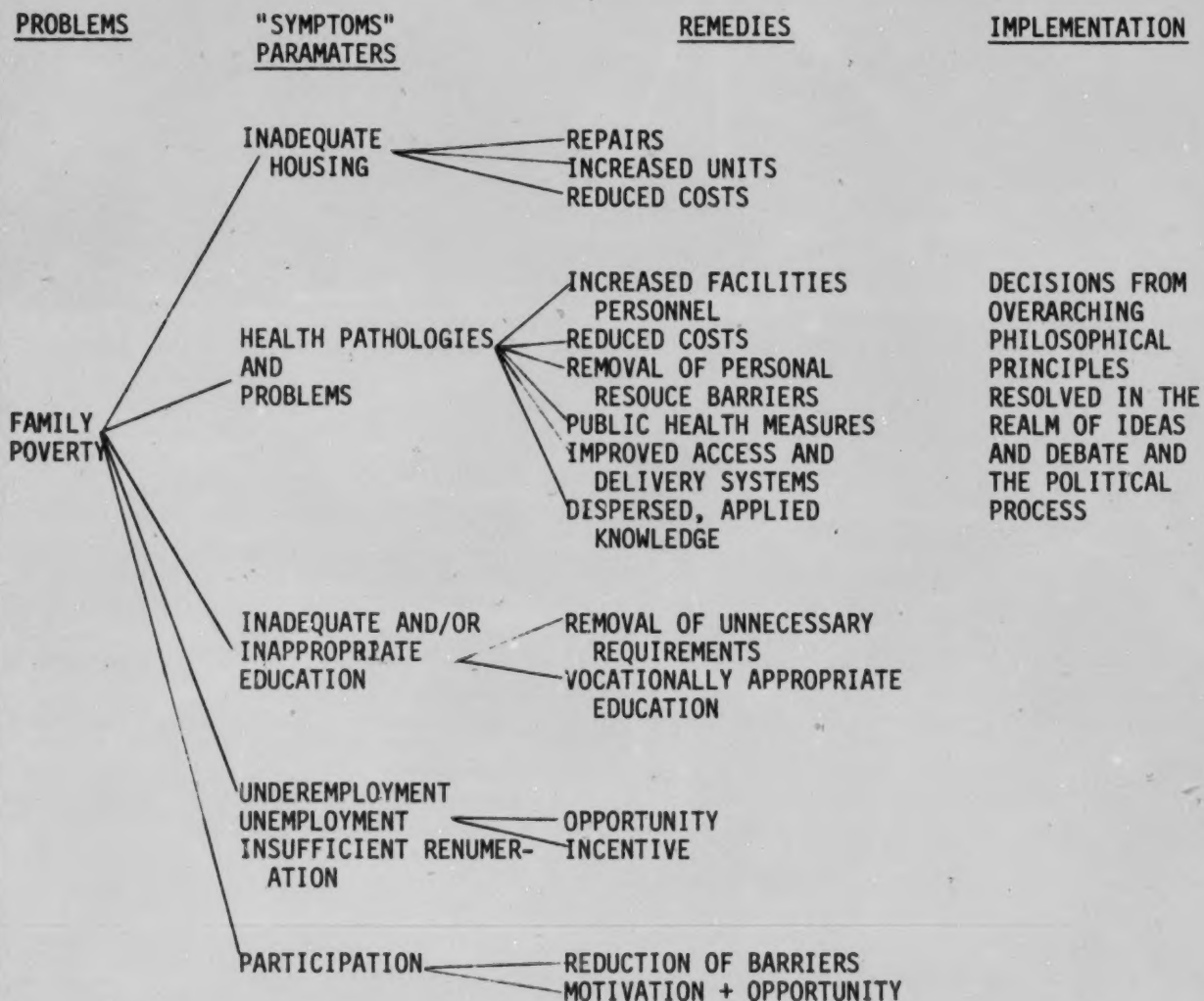


FIGURE 3: A MODEL FOR PROJECTING REMEDIES ADDRESSED TO "SYMPTOMS" AND PARAMETERS.

the broader political process of determining public policy. Included within the principles to be resolved through the realm of ideas and debate over the methods by which social problems can be solved is the public issue of the degree to which government can eliminate poverty, and racism, prevent crime, restore cities, etc., if the right policies would be adopted, and recognition of the actual limitations of policy in affecting conditions.⁶⁸

SUMMARY

Statistics, tables, and correlations can only delineate the bare perimeters of poverty. Poverty in America is not due to inability of our industrial system to produce sufficient goods to cover needs, but is due to inequities of distribution of goods and services. Categorization of the etiology of poverty are discussed in terms of folklore theories, events beyond individual control, externally oppressed subsociety, "case" theory of poverty, the "culture of poverty", and structurally mandated poverty. Issues in the amelioration of poverty highlighted include income versus services strategy, inclusiveness versus sequestration, structural reform versus increased volume, rule change versus transitional equity, evaluation and implementation, and the policy implications of structural versus cultural interpretation of poverty.

Suggested directions toward which ameliorative steps may be taken include policies relating to migration, selective placement programs, taxation policy, increasing employment opportunities, neighborhood amenities, retirement plans, and minimum wage legislation. Finally, three analytical models are presented as a means of assisting action agencies in the identification and interpretation of basic data in terms of the role of particular agencies and what these facts mean with respect to the resources of particular agencies.

1. Kenneth Davis (ed.) The Paradox of Poverty in America, (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1969), p. 64.
2. These items largely plagiarized from "A Nation Within a Nation," Time, (May 17, 1968), pp. 24-32.
3. Marion Clawson, "Rural Poverty in the United States," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1967). Nisbet has noted that the relative deprivation is not restricted to those who themselves feel relatively deprived. He feels that as "more and more well-meaning, bumbling, mission-oriented members of the middle class are brought into the act (of political action to solve problems)... this cannot help but result in ever larger numbers of issues, problems, crises-that-cannot-possibly-be-longer-endured..."

...the more persons there are who are dedicated to solving problems, the more problems there have to be. Situations that would not have drawn passing glance five years ago from the most pious of uplifters are now compared in newspaper editorials to the Black Hole of Calcutta. Problems breed, in other words, at a geometric rate, not through partenogenesis but through incessant fertilization by American middle class eagerness for large families of problems to fill its spare time. Or so it might seem.

Robert Nisbet, "The Urban Crisis Revisited," Intercollegiate Review, 7 (Winter, 1970-1971), p. 7. Nisbet points out that De Tocqueville first put into systematic form the proposition that the greatest agonies over the problem of equality would be experienced precisely in those countries where the work of equality was carried the farthest and substantive inequalities become ever diminished. Ibid, p. 4.

4. Richard Barringer in Samuel H. Beer and R.E. Barringer, The State and the Poor, (Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1970), p. 307.
5. A. Dale Tussig, "The Dual Welfare System," Society, II (January-February, 1974), pp. 50-57; "American Ideology and Anti-poverty Policy," Intellect, 103 (January, 1975).
6. "Rising Food Prices Have Widespread Impact," CNI Weekly Report, 5 (November 6, 1975), p. 7.
7. Gabriel Kolko, Wealth and Power in America, (New York: Praeger, 1962).
8. Vincent and Vee Burke, Nixon's Good Deed: Welfare Reform (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 13; Robert J. Lampman, Transfer Approaches to Distribution Policy, (Madison Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin, 1969). In 1964, the Council of Economic Advisors made the following declaration about the ease and cost of overcoming poverty:

Conquest of poverty is well within our power. About \$11 billion a year would bring all poor families up to the \$3,000 income level we have taken to be the minimum for a decent life. The majority of the Nation could simply (sic) tax themselves to provide the necessary income supplements to these less fortunate citizens.

Council of Economic Advisors, "Annual Report," in Economic Report of the President, (Washington: USGPO, 1964). Browning has pointed out that "the net transfer of income (total transfers less total taxes) to the poorest 25 percent of the population is estimated to have increased from \$25 billion in 1966 to nearly \$80 billion in 1973. A net increase of \$80 billion to this group, when added to before-tax income, is more than adequate to have moved every family above its respective poverty line." Edgard K. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975), p. 1.

9. Burke, pp. 12-14; Browning has observed that currently some 100 federal welfare programs accomplish income redistribution in the United States,

...At a minimum, poor families are subjected to effective tax rates on earnings of 40 to 45 percent, which is approximately the effective tax rates on earnings for a family receiving only food stamps. For families that also receive benefits under other programs, tax rates are generally much higher, ranging up to 80% and even exceeding 100% in some cases.

This problem resulting from piling one program atop another, is but one indication of the difficulty of coordinating several major programs with overlapping coverage. The current welfare system is so complex that problems of this type abound, and are probably the unavoidable outcome of attempting to "fine tune" the system with scores of programs rather than relying on a few simple ones that could be understood and coordinated effectively.

10. David Elesh, Poverty Theories and Income Maintenance: Validity and Policy Relevance (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Institute for Research on Poverty, 1970), p. 1.
11. The idea that there exists a repository of persons in society who are influential in maintaining poverty because of its utility as a warning to those who do not conduct themselves properly is oversimplification at best. However, this does not mean that some are not poor because they are exploited, nor does it mean that certain aspects of society do not profit from poverty. Herbert Gans has pointed out that poverty performs a number of functions for many members of society by providing a job market for social workers, crusading journalists, OEO and HEW personnel, and penitentiary ministers; the poor constitute a labor pool that is unable to be un-

willing to perform undersirable work; the poor "prolong the economic usefulness" of day-old bread, dilapidated buildings. Herbert Gans, Time, (June 21, 1971), p. 64.

12. Without question, however, there has been exploitation to keep some persons poor in order to utilize their services. Perhaps the clearest example of this can be found in the agricultural South, where documentation is not lacking of expression of sentiments motivated by the desire to insure a labor pool vulnerable to exploitation. This reasoning was behind much of the inequities in the dual school system in the South and the poor provisions made for the education of blacks. There was little need to educate blacks who were destined to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Horton or Hunt observes: "This writer once talked to a women's group about racial discrimination; the women nodded in sympathetic agreement with each remark, but during the tea that followed, many were heard lamenting because black cleaning women were demanding as much money as white workers received! Whatever their professed ideals might be, these women did not wish to surrender their exploitation of blacks." Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, "The Sociology of Social Problems", (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 11.
13. Such cliché explanations are applicable only for limited exceptions or they are otherwise so broad as to be meaningless as a theoretical explanation of the cause of poverty. For example, one may argue that professional athletes receive yearly salaries exceeding the lifetime income of members of the working hoipolloi partially because they are able to pursue trades in stadiums built by the public, whereas the working class-person must himself build his shop. As a minimum equity would suggest that the benefactors of the public stadiums would have to pay for them out of their salaries whereas in reality (Philip Stern, The Rape of the Taxpayers 1973), the tax structure is such that the successful bare less of a tax burden than do the less favored members of society. Or, witness the existence of athletic palaces on University campuses in contrast to conditions at, say, a State mental hospital, or contrast the inadequate or user-costly health facilities with the luxurious quarters of athletic dormitories in which occupants are paid to reside. Whether this may be regarded as exploitation is perhaps debatable, but it can hardly be argued that poverty in general is caused by athleticism.
14. It is recognized that the explanations categorized here as "folklore theories" may be more characteristic of academicians than of the folk hoipolloi; however, they are styled as such because they belong more to the arena of mythology than to fact. On the other hand, this designation is suggestive that the folk wisdom of a people may reflect more accurate assessment of the realities of the social bond (which may be dismissed by a social scientists as mere "common sense") than the explanations provided by social scientists. One calls to mind, for example, the common sense versus the social science prognostication of the result of the high rise apartment building as a cure for delinquency and anti-social behavior.
15. Robert G. Moss, The Collapse of Democracy (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1976), pp. 77-96; Hans Sennholz, "The Causes of Inflation," Journal of Christian Reconstruction, 2 (Summer, 1975), pp. 33-44; Henry Hazlitt, Man vs. The Welfare State (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1969).

16. Kolko, p. 132.
17. See "Uncle Sam's Welfare Program-- for the Rich," in Stern, The Rape of the Taxpayer, pp. 5-29.
18. Tussig has written that "...the poor are seen by much of society to be a new kind of 'leisure class,' and a type of resentment which, in the past, was reserved for the true leisure class of absentee landlords and those of inherited wealth, is now directed at the poor." American Ideology and Anti-poverty Policy, p. 249.
19. George R. Thomas, Poverty in the Nonmetropolitan South, (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1972), p. 22.
20. See C. Valentine, Culture and Poverty, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," Scientific American, 215; Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action, (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor 1965), Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Under Privileged Worker," in W.F. Whyte (ed.), Industry and Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946), pp. 84-106.
21. Horton and Hunt, p. 366. "The minimum wage law makes it uneconomical to meet marginal economic needs with people; these needs are filed by machines...Automation fills the vacuum created by the passage of minimum wage laws and other increasing labor costs. Automatic elevators that replaced elevator operators because of their increasing wage demands are a good example of this. Schiff, p. 173. Cf.: Ibid., pp. 164-192.
22. Valentine, Culture and Poverty, 157.
23. Barringer, p. 320.
24. Ibid., p. 322.
25. Ibid., p. 323.
26. Ibid., p. 324. The author observes:

As we have long since learned... almost nothing is as effective as the prospect of financial failure or even diminished returns in inducing producer responsiveness to consumer demands... an increasing number of schemes have been advanced to provide the poor and non-poor alike with cash "vouchers" for services traditionally delivered or supported by government. These vouchers could be "spent" to obtain these services from any available and certified institution, public or private, profit or nonprofit, that the holder feels is most responsive to his own needs, and exchanged by that institution for a cash transfer from the government... the time seems upon us to accept the costs and short-

term "inefficiencies" of duplication of services in the interest of introducing greater diversity, responsiveness, and personal satisfaction into our social institutions.

27. Of course there are obvious target group exceptions, i.e., the disabled, etc. The principle is, however, that wherever possible opportunities should be general rather than particularistic. Unfortunately, many public programs, including those officially on behalf of a selected group, such as the poor, have a tendency to bestow selective benefits on a "reverse welfare" basis, that is, greatest public benefit to those with the least need. For discussion, see Philip Stern, The Great Treasury Raid.
28. A. Bird and John McCoy, White Americans in Rural Poverty (Washington: USDA, 1967).
29. In particular, this principle suggests that lowering of food costs is preferable to a program subsidizing the food expenditures of a favored category of persons; that lower educational costs are preferable to a high cost system with preferences and exceptions for selected individuals or groups; that reasonable cost housing choice across-the-board is preferable to maintenance of high cost housing with subsidization of selected persons and families. Where a principle of exclusiveness is the criterion, there appears to be a tendency for the operation of these programs to bestow disproportionate benefits on those with the least need and, if concentrated on the needy, to bestow only meagre benefits. Harrington observes:

Out of the thirties came the welfare state. Its creation has helped the poor least of all. Laws like... the Wagner Act, the various farm programs, all these were designed for the upper third in the county, for the big market farmers.... the paradox that the welfare state benefits those least who need help most is but a single instance of a persistent irony in the other America.

Michael Harrington, "The Invisible Poor," in E. C. Budd, Inequality and Poverty, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), p. 145.

30. The principle suggests that the equitable distribution of educational resources can best be handled by making education opportunities reasonably available (by a combination of tax policies, perhaps supplemented by a pay-back loan policy). It asserts the desirability of widespread enabling opportunity, rejects the notion that students should be recruited because of the enticement of emoluments offered. The emolument may take the form of offering access to an occupational arena in which entry is limited as well as the dollar value of the supplement, grant, or scholarship itself.
31. These limitations might be in the nature of age limitations, income limitations, or other should-be irrelevant barriers to entry.

32. M. R. Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 124.
33. Browning has pointed out that "the government employees who administer the current 168 federal programs have an understandably strong interest in their continuance" but they have a disproportionate influence "not only because they provide most of the information used to guide policy decisions, but also because only they can claim 'really' to understand how the policies operate." Moynihan has remarked that this group is not "more greedy than the average interest group, but at the same time has not shown itself "to be other than an interest group, one representing middle-class professional interests at that." Daniel P. Moynihan, The Politics of a Guaranteed Income, (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 321.
34. Harold Hochman, "Rule Change and Transitional Equity," in Harold Hochman and George Peterson, Redistribution through Public Choice, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), p. 331.
35. Ibid., p. 338. Transitional equity is concerned with entitlements to the certainty that pre-existing rights and endowments sanctioned by a social contract will continue undiminished, that is, with the fairness of windfall alterations in the absolute wealth of some individuals that occur when the community at large, in its quest for a preferable long-run allocative or distributional income, alters its rules and regulations. With few exceptions, changes in established rules and practices create transitional equity problems, thus placing constraints on the manner in which the inequities fostered by existing rules and regulations can be corrected. An example of inconsistency between demands for rule changes which foster social justice or economic efficiency and the degree to which rules and institutions have legitimized claims and expectations which, while perhaps a travesty of economic efficiency if not of distributive justice (witness the "sales" of sixteen section land leases) is replete with questions of transitional equity, is seen in the utilization of State sixteen section lands. As Hochman points out, "the deliberation of reform proposals in isolation, without due regard for the preconditions and due attention to the decision making process from which existing institutions have emerged, risks substantial normative danger. To undo inequities without causing harm is no simple matter. Nor is it always self-evident whether the harm of transition is more or less severe than the harm of the status quo. That inequity may be clothed in the garb of 'justice' is small consolation." Ibid., pp. 329-330.
36. Ellesh, Poverty Theories and Income Maintenance, pp. 14-15.
37. Thomas R. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, (Prentice-Hall, 1975), p. 107.
38. The designation legislators as opposed to planners and/or administrators is purposefully used, since the broad outlines of social policy and the methodology by which they are to be attained (or their absence) is the responsibility of the legislative body of a State as the people's ultimate

and their directly controlled tribunal in which a collective voice can be exerted. However, the consideration of unintended consequences and overall distributional effect of contemplated policies is no less relevant for administrations and planners.

39. Varden Fuller, Rural Worker Adjustment to Urban Life: An Assessment of Research (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1970), p. 2. Hightower notes that "mechanization research by land grant colleges is either irrelevant or only incidentally adaptable to the needs of some 87 to 99 percent of America's farmers. The public subsidy for mechanization actually has weakened the competitive position of the family farmer. Taxpayers, through the land grant college complex, have given corporate producers a technological arsenal specifically suited to their scale of operation." Jim Hightower and Susan DeMarco, "The Land Grant College Complex," in the People's Land, pp. 89-95. Cf.: Alice Rivlin, Chapter 2, "Who Wins and Who Loses," in Systematic Thinking for Social Action, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1971), p. 36-45.
40. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, pp. 20-21.
41. Ibid., p. 115.
42. Browning, Redistribution and the Welfare System.
43. V. G. Cicirelli, The Impact of Head Start, (Report to the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity by Westinghouse Learning Corporation and Ohio University, 1969). See Ibid., p. 8, for Cicirelli's summary of the impact of Head Start. Cf.: S. White, "The National Impact of Head Start," in J. Hellmuth (ed.), The Disadvantaged Child, (New York: Brunner, 1969), Rossi and Williams, who conclude that the Westinghouse study is "the most rigorous national assessment of the program which has been conducted, and its conclusions are valid" admit that programmatic conclusions which should have logically followed have proved unfounded. They explain that one lesson which is brought out is

...large-scale federal programs, once initiated, are not easily dismantled. When the national educational and poverty lobbies mobilize for a program which captures the public's imagination... it is not easily abolished or curtailed.

McDill and Sprehe, noting a tendency for ineffective programs in terms of their original justification to remain entrenched once given a broad-scale implementation, opt for "pilot programs prior to initiation of a nationwide effort which often requires a functional autonomy once launched." Edward McDill and S. T. Sprehe, "Evaluation in Practice: Compulsory Education," in Peter H. Rossi and Walter Williams (eds.), Evaluating Social Programs (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 166. Cf.: Walter Williams and John W. Evans, "The Politics of Evaluation: The Case of Head Start," Annals, 385 (September, 1969), pp. 118-132.
44. Rubin Morton, "Migration Patterns of Negroes from a Rural Northeastern Mississippi Community," Social Forces, 39 (October 1960), pp. 59-60.

45. A. Lloyd Bacon, "Migration, Poverty and the Rural South." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociology Section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Jacksonville, Fla., (February 1-3, 1971); "Poverty Among Interregional Rural to Urban Migrants." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington (August 26-30, 1970).
46. Bryant and Wilber estimated that out-movement from Mississippi "cost" this State \$700 million per year. Ellen Bryant and George L. Wilber, Net Migration in Mississippi 1950-1960, (State College: MAES Bulletin 632, 1961). While there may have been "gains" to recipient areas, this exchange would seem to be a sum zero nature, that is, whatever recipient areas gained was not in fact a loss to Mississippi. The apparent fallacy of the Bryant and Wilber logic was that such migrants could and would have been productively employed if they had not migrated. This is not to say, however, that those programs which have had the inevitable result of creating a surplus of rural population and in this sense forcing marginal agricultural population to relocate have performed any admirable service to those whose economic status has improved after migration relative to those who did not move.
47. There is some apparent legitimacy to the contention that provision of education for persons who are productively employed elsewhere, such as rurally educated persons who move to cities, does provide subsidization for the city which does not have to train its own labor force. However, the sound perspective is to recognize the public obligation to provide educational services for citizens as human beings rather than to tender or require education because of its economic benefits to an area (notwithstanding whatever economic benefit education may feedback into an area). Most providers of education (parents, consumers) think in terms of provisions for individuals rather than in terms of an area calculus, and, in fact, are willing to support education because of the chance it will give educated persons to take advantage of opportunities which may require migration. In its ultimate and real sense the provision of educational benefits in an area are benefits to which the area receives all that to which it is entitled by the process of their provision completely apart from any question of additional return. Other area subsidization in an inverse fashion does come into play if the costs of public higher education in say, New Jersey, are such that a New Jersey resident can receive a collegiate education in, say, Mississippi, at less cost than he would have to pay in New Jersey even after out-of-State fees are included. In this case, there would be direct subsidization by Mississippi of New Jersey's educational responsibilities. If such an inequity existed it could be corrected by charging out-of-State college students at least the cost to the State of their education in Mississippi.
48. One potential might be those employers who desire to utilize the acceptance and expectation of work among rural Southerners which seems to make them desirable and/or willing employers who might be assisted in recruiting Southern labor. One editorial has suggested that "The government could use its enormous computer facilities to match workers with jobs... "Putting America to Work," Christian Science Monitor (4/21/76)

in News Clippings (Washington: Office of Public Affairs, Community Services Administration, April 19-26, 1976), p. 14.

49. Ray Marshall, "Program and Research Issues in Rural Development," Presidential Address, Southern Economic Association (November, 1974), p. 22.
50. In addition, there would seem to good social justification for granting arbitrary preferences to the physically handicapped in terms of civil service points. At the same time, granting of absolute preference to veterans might well be one area of preference that equity would abolish. Shottland, speaking in reference to the Massachusetts Civil Service System as one of the roadblocks to developing adequate social service manpower, cites the absolute preference for veterans as one of the factors making the upgrading of social services personnel difficult. Granting preferences to the obviously physically handicapped would not seem to run counter to social justice. Granting of preferences to veterans merely by virtue of being veterans would seem to be as arbitrarily unreasonable, undefensible, and as unfair as granting preference because of sex, hair color, shoe size, or some other frivolous reason. Charles Shottland, in The State and the Poor, p. 324.
51. De Fischler, "Food Taxes Burden Low-Income Families," CNI Weekly Report, V (November 27, 1975), pp. 4-5.
52. Mississippi is spending an estimated \$682 per person for State government outlays (outlays from State and federal funds) compared to \$660 for other Southern States. Beginning teacher salaries in Mississippi exceed those of surrounding States as do salaries for certain clerical positions, social service workers, accountants, highway patrolmen, planners, and engineers. Mississippi: A Fiscal Summary (January, 1976).
53. Or, perhaps unobstructed through artificial limitations and barriers which would convey a more generic need than "encourage." This argument would seem particularly applicable in terms of facilities for training persons in professions and occupations. Schiff has suggested, in this context, that trade schools (speaking in this case of tool-and-die men) are inferior to an apprentice system due to factors that have an impact on motivation, concentration, and diligence and the fact that trade schools waste time "on the extraneous subjects that are unnecessary to becoming a good tool-and-die man." The Biggest Con, p. 182.
54. Maximum opportunity for entrance into an area may be said to exist when all categorically qualified people are admitted into the arena without being subjected to evaluation as to likelihood of success, or extraneous evaluations by which a few selectees are sifted from a number of similarly qualified applicants. To put it another way, all persons who wish to be lawyers should have the opportunity to study law (or medicine, or whatever) in some program which, if they are successful, allows them to compete on merit (not with each other, but against objective standards) for admittance to the practice of any profession or vocational field. The principle is open admission (and sufficient provision of facilities to meet whatever local demand there may be) with the evaluation and

attrition occurring by barriers in terms of learning ability and the dedication and perseverance it takes to learn the occupational role than by a priori blocks on entry into opportunity. This does not mean that a particular institutional provider of vocational, technical, or professional skills should take all applicants into its particular program. It does mean that some program should be available from some source (junior college, trade school, correspondence, hospital affiliated) by which all those who desire can learn the skills requisite for entering any particular occupational arena. For example, all those who wish to acquire the health care related skills (not necessarily community analysis and professionalizer attitudes) requisite for, say, nursing, should have the opportunity to learn these skills without being subjected to the extraneous requirements which might be an accouterment of a University affiliated program. Secondly, it means access to all individuals, not those who win out in competition among peers or who receive favors of selection because of ambiguous or external qualities (such as athletic participation as a sign of "leadership" which provides a favorable edge in competition for admittance to a professional school), who have the self-declared interest to enter an occupational arena, i. e., all persons with a high school education accepted into some kind of nursing training program who desire to receive such training, all persons with collegiate educations into professional medical arenas, etc. Thirdly, this does not mean total access to all levels of prestige schools, but it does mean sufficient provision for persons to enter into the occupational area. The competition then, is not to see who gets to acquire the skills, but at the level of competition within the occupational arena i.e., not who gets selected to be trained as a plumber, but open access to the plumbing vocation with competition among plumbers. Fourth, all areas of inquiry (vocational, professional, aesthetic) should be open to persons who want to learn the specialty because of whatever intrinsic interest or motivation they may have, not because of any "payoff" to the community because of the applicability of these skills once learned. This view maximizes the dignity and autonomy of the individual and his quest for self-actualization, and completely rules out age qualifications of any sort in terms of being "too old" to learn (or attempt to learn) within any area of inquiry and to make whatever use thereof (if any) in terms of the free choice of consumers as the market might justify. Fifthly, open access and adequate provision emphasises the individual as individual rather as representative of race or class. Individual justice is not served by the selection of representatives by any sort of criterion or for any reason whatsoever (real, imputed, imposed, or otherwise) to enter into sequestered favor by which the weight of the State is used to fence out others equally desirous and qualified to enter the arena. Sixthly, this view emphasises that restrictions on entry and/or learning opportunity should not be sanctioned to limit entry into a field or to enhance, protect, or increase the earning of those who are admitted. The State should not be a part of the erection of barriers, but should be the promoter of equality of opportunity, not the creator of repositories of vested interests either by 1) limiting entry, or 2) by imposing extraneous educational requirements. Seventh, where there is demand for content areas, the need should be met. However, this should not be accomplished by an artificial forcing of persons into educational

perquisites where the education is not necessary for the occupation involved apart from its credentialing imposition. Neither the needs of the individual nor the public is maximally served when limitations on desired areas force persons into residual areas, as, say, education or business administration. In summary, provision should be made for the education/vocational training for all State applicants into that arena, but credentialing should not be used to impose peripheral educational requirements as a perquisite to entry into an occupational area. The latter may be imposed by a combination of either a) artificial credentialing or b) selectivity rather than open access which forces persons into less desirable areas for which provision is made, i.e., limitations on those who wish to study, say, medicine, while liberally making available opportunities to study marketing or education.

55. Schiff feels this figure is put into perspective by comparison with the circa 33,200 collegiate degrees (undergraduate plus) in sociology awarded in 1970, making it "appear that our economy for some obscure reason felt a need to turn out sociologists equivalent to 40 percent of all those being trained in 350 apprenticeable and essential occupations," explaining: "Now do you see why its so hard to get a plumber? However, if you need a sociologist-- you're in good shape." Schiff, p. 119.
56. "I wish also to mention... that overeducation could serve for downward mobility, as well as for a good deal of frustration, for people who are kidded into thinking that if they get a degree in marketing, they're going to get a job when they get through, and find they don't know anything about anything." Edward Banfield, in "The New Politics of Less," New York Affairs, 3 (Fall, 1975), p. 12.
57. Of course, a particular institution has a right to impose any extraneous requirements on students in any area which it may desire; however, such impositions or concomitants of the philosophy of a particular institutional provider or set of institutions should not be allowed to control the requirements for all persons who wish to enter an occupational arena, that is, persons should have the option of learning how to accomplish the tasks necessary for performing the appropriate role of a particular vocation (e.g., in nursing, assisting the physician in caring for the sick) without encumbrance by peripheral perquisites.
58. "A small percentage, but that's there. They become ambulance technicians or inhalation therapists. They are primarily black and Puerto Rican." Julius Topol, in "The New Policies of Less," p. 12.
59. S.M. Miller, et al., "Poverty, Inequality, and Conflict," Annals, 373 (September, 1967), p. 36.
60. It might also be suggested that notwithstanding whatever value there may be in general programs to prevent delinquency through alternative activities or motivations, the feeling that residents are protected as fully as possible through comprehensive surveillance, detection of ongoing crime, and surety of meaningful punishment, is one area in

which residents of low income areas face a major deprivation in comparison with those who live in more secure neighborhoods. It is possibly unfortunate that most emphasis regarding the poor and police protection has focused on the relatively minor issue of abuse of the poor rather than the major factor of failure to provide a safe environment. It is further suggested that the factor of neighborhood safety from victimization of its residents through violent crime is one of the major deficits in quality to which the poor are subjected and that failure to recognize this variable may be indicative of a gap between the needs of the poor as they feel and desire them and between the priorities of spokesmen and service brokers who plan and advocate in their behalf.

61. Patricia Sexton, Education and Income (New York: Viking Press, 1961), pp. 143-144.
62. Barbara Shenfield, Myths of Social Policy (Rockford, Illinois: Rockford College Press, 1975), p. 32.
63. For example, it may be argued that "coercive intervention in labor contracts by government and by labor organizations granted special privileges by government has been an important cause of the most dramatic and difficult of the urban problems - the high rate of unemployment among low productivity work groups in urban areas- the young, the old, minority race members..." Benjamin Rogge, "No New Urban Jerusalem," Freeman, 25 (March, 1975), p. 167.
64. Yale Brozen, "Minimum Wage Rates and Household Workers," Journal of Law and Economics, V (October, 1965), pp. 103-109.
65. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper, 1944), p. 297.
66. Thomas H. Naylor and James Clotfelter, Strategies for Change in the South, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), p. 69.
67. This language is largely plagiarized from Carlton R. Sollie, et al., Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970 (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975) p. 11.
68. For a listing of limitations of policy in affecting societal conditions, see Dye Understanding Public Policy, pp. 342-343. Dye points out, for example, that some societal problems are incapable of solution because of the way they are defined; specific policies may not be able to eradicate problems that have multiple causes; "solutions" may be more costly than the problem; people may adapt themselves to policies in ways that render the policies useless; policies that solve the problems of one group may create problems for other groups; there are no policies which can simultaneously attain mutually exclusive ends. Ibid.

APPENDIX I

APPENDICES TO NARRATIVE

This appendix contains additional statistical detail arranged according to the subject chapters in the narrative. In some cases reference is given to specified items of this data in the text, while other tables provide supplemental information to supplement that found in the main body. Identification may be obtained from the chapter titles, indicating the subject matter of the appendix table and the chapter with which it is associated. In some cases illustrative interpretations have been provided to assist in the utilization of the data when the tables are not self-explanatory.

POVERTY DEFINITION

APPENDIX TABLE 1

COMMUNITY SERVICES ADMINISTRATION POVERTY GUIDELINES, JUNE 30, 1975

FAMILY SIZE	NON-FARM FAMILY	FARM FAMILY
1	\$2,590	\$2,200
2	3,410	2,900
3	4,230	3,600
4	5,050	4,300
5	5,870	5,000
6	6,690	5,700

For family units with more than 6 members and \$820 for each member of a non-farm family and \$700 for each member of a farm family.

Source: CSA Instruction 6004-1h. For detailed thresholds see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Persons Below the Poverty Level," 1959 to 1974, P-60, No. 102, January, 1976.

POVERTY DEFINITION

APPENDIX TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES WITH HEAD 65 AND OVER UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS 65 AND OVER BY TYPE OF INCOME, POVERTY STATUS, AND RACE, 1974

(FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS AS OF MARCH 1975)

Type of Income

FAMILIES

Number...thousands.....	8,034	7,319	641	760	567	177
Percent ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Earnings..... 51.8 51.2 55.5 35.4 31.7 44.1

Income other than earnings..

Public Assistance and
Supplemental Security

income 9.9 7.9 34.2 30.0 26.1 45.2

Social Security income ... 90.5 90.7 88.1 85.3 84.5 88.7

Other transfer income² 21.9 22.2 17.3 6.4 4.9 7.9

Other unearned income³ 69.5 73.0 28.9 29.6 34.2 13.0

UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

Number...thousands	6,502	5,874	577	2,065	1,697	349
Percent ¹	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Earnings..... 18.2 18.0 20.7 8.6 7.7 12.6

Income other than earnings..

Public Assistance and
Supplemental Security

income..... 14.5 12.0 38.5 28.1 23.9 49.1

Social Security income.... 89.7 90.5 81.4 84.4 85.9 77.6

Other transfer income².... 16.0 16.8 9.4 7.0 8.0 2.6

Other unearned income³ 57.4 61.5 17.2 30.2 34.8 6.6

¹Detail does not add to total because some families have more of the types of income specified.

²Unemployment and workmen's compensation, government employee pensions, veterans' payments.

³Private pensions, annuities, regular contributions from persons outside the household, etc.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1974," P-60, No. 102 (January, 1976), p. 9.

POVERTY DEFINITION

APPENDIX TABLE 3

POOR FAMILIES BY SEX AND RACE OF HEAD, UNITED STATES, 1969-1974

(Numbers in thousands. Families as of March of the following year)						
Sex and race of head	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969
Total.....	5,109	4,828	5,075	5,303	5,260	5,008
Male head.....	2,757	2,635	2,917	3,203	3,309	3,181
Female head.....	2,351	2,193	2,100	1,951	1,827	
Percent female head.....	46.0	45.4	42.5	39.6	37.1	36.5
Poverty rate.....	32.5	32.2	32.7	33.9	32.5	32.7
White.....	3,482	3,219	3,441	3,751	3,708	3,575
Male head.....	2,185	2,029	2,306	2,560	2,606	2,506
Female head.....	1,297	1,190	1,135	1,191	1,102	1,069
Percent female head.....	37.2	37.0	33.0	31.8	29.7	29.9
Poverty rate.....	24.9	24.5	24.3	26.5	25.0	25.7
Negro.....	1,530	1,527	1,529	1,484	1,481	1,366
Male head.....	506	553	558	604	648	629
Female head.....	1,024	974	972	879	834	737
Percent female head.....	66.9	63.8	63.6	59.2	56.3	54.0
Poverty rate.....	52.8	52.7	53.3	53.5	54.3	53.3

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POVERTY DEFINITION

APPENDIX TABLE 4

NUMBER OF POOR FAMILIES BY AGE OF HEAD, AND PERCENTAGE
DISTRIBUTION, UNITED STATES, 1969-1974

	Number						
<u>Age of head</u>							
Total.....	5,109	4,828	5,075	5,303	5,260	5,005	8,320
Under 35 years.....	2,015	1,789	1,880	1,866	1,664	1,486	2,239
Under 25 years.....	733	676	684	719	586	529	622
25 to 34 years.....	1,282	1,113	1,197	1,146	1,078	957	1,617
35 to 44 years.....	1,051	927	956	968	974	870	1,697
45 to 54 years.....	581	593	653	743	731	703	1,438
55 to 64 years.....	581	593	653	665	704	668	1,086
Median age.....	40.1	41.7	41.9	43.1	44.9	47.1	46.6
	Percent						
<u>Age of head</u>							
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under 35 years.....	39.4	37.1	37.0	35.2	31.6	29.7	26.9
Under 25 years.....	14.3	14.0	13.5	13.6	11.1	10.6	7.5
25 to 34 years.....	25.1	23.1	23.6	21.6	20.5	19.1	19.4
35 to 44 years.....	20.6	19.2	18.8	18.3	18.5	17.4	20.4
45 to 54 years.....	13.7	14.3	13.9	14.0	13.9	14.0	17.3
55 to 64 years.....	11.4	12.3	12.9	12.5	13.4	13.3	13.1
65 years and over.....	14.9	17.2	17.3	20.0	22.6	25.5	22.4

Source: Same as Appendix Table 2, pp. 24-29.

NOTE: One-fourth of the low-income families in 1974, in contrast to circa one-fifth in 1959, consisted of families with heads 25-34. The proportion whose head was under 25 increased from 7.5% to 14.3%. The proportion of low-income families whose head was 65 or beyond decreased from circa 22% to circa 15% during this time. The percentage of low income families whose head was 35-44 remained at about the same, or approximately one-fifth of the heads of poor families. For those age 35-44 poverty is likely to be severe both as an economic and a psychological problem. For persons in this age bracket, the prospects for future improvements in income are generally not optimistic, financial responsibilities, burdens, and expectations have generally increased, reference group members in their cohort have usually become established economically and have made headway into provisions of consumer comfort and extended economic security, and the structure of the social system

CONTINUATION OF APPENDIX TABLE 4

is such that opportunities or alternative behavior (from joining the military or the police force to acquiring education for a profession to entering a job with optimistic career channeling) are severely limited. It may be for this age group and those dependent upon them that poverty is most severe in its direct and indirect impact. They may well comprise the bulk of those who suffer the hardships commonly associated with poverty. By contrast, young families who are poor by a current dollar income measure may be just beginning their income cycle. Many are in the luxury of studenthood: some receiving parental and/or various forms of public succor. Their expected future income anticipates the likelihood of a much higher standard of living. Friedman has suggested that among the elderly their previous opportunities for property acquisition and other assets may make the elderly as a class substantially better off than the low-income figures would indicate. Rose Friedman, Poverty: Definition and Measurement (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1965), p. 39.

POVERTY DEFINITION

APPENDIX TABLE 5

CHANGES IN THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (CPI) AND AVERAGE/
POVERTY THRESHOLD FOR A NON-FARM FAMILY OF FOUR, 1959-1974

YEAR	CONSUMER PRICE INDEX (1963=100)	AVERAGE THRESHOLD FOR A NONFARM FAMILY OF FOUR PERSONS
1974.....	161.1	5,038
1973.....	145.1	4,540
1972.....	136.6	4,275
1971.....	132.3	4,137
1970.....	126.8	3,968
1969.....	119.7	3,743
1968.....	113.6	3,553
1967.....	109.1	3,410
1966.....	106.0	3,317
1965.....	103.1	3,223
1964.....	101.3	3,169
1963.....	100.0	3,128
1962.....	98.8	3,089
1961.....	97.7	3,054
1960.....	96.7	3,022
1959.....	95.2	2,973

Source: Same as Appendix Table 2, p. 143.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 6

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL, AND PERCENT INCIDENCE OF POVERTY

AREA	% OF THOSE ALL INCOME LEVELS	% OF THOSE BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
State	100.0	100.0
Urban	43.1	31.8
Rural Nonfarm	46.9	55.7
Rural Farm	10.0	12.5
State	100.0	100.0
White	62.7	29.4
Nonwhite	37.3	70.6
State	100.0	100.0
Negro	37.0	70.2
Other	63.0	29.8
State	100.0	100.0
Male Headed	86.2	73.3
Female Headed	13.8	26.7

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 46.9% of all persons residing in families in Mississippi in 1969 (all income levels) were rural nonfarm persons; however, rural nonfarm persons accounted for 55.7% of all persons in families with incomes below the poverty level.

APPENDIX TABLE 7

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND PERCENT INCIDENCE, BY RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
State	681,754	100.0	33.5
Urban	216,654	31.8	24.7
Rural Nonfarm	380,080	55.7	39.9
Rural Farm	85,020	12.5	41.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 41.8% of all rural farm persons in families living in Mississippi in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. However, these accounted for only 12.5% of the State total.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 8

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
TOTAL AND NEGRO, BY AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RACE	STATE	INCOME BELOW POVERTY LEVEL			
		URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM	JACKSON SMSA
Total	29.0	21.3	35.1	36.1	18.6
Black	59.4	49.2	67.2	66.9	44.7

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 9

PERCENT OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH 1969 INCOMES
BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, WHITE AND NEGRO, UNITED STATES, SOUTH,
AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	WHITE	BLACK
United States	8.6	29.9
South	16.0	69.4
Mississippi	16.0	59.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 10

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND
PERCENT INCIDENCE, URBAN POPULATION, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	216,654	100.0	24.7
Black	158,604	73.2	53.2
Other	58,050	26.8	10.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 11

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND
PERCENT INCIDENCE, RURAL NONFARM POPULATION, BY RACE,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	380,080	100.0	33.9
Black	258,955	68.0	70.5
Other	121,125	31.9	20.7

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 12

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND
PERCENT INCIDENCE, RURAL NONFARM POPULATION, BY FAMILY HEAD,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	380,080	100.0	39.9
Male Headed	294,135	77.4	35.4
Female Headed	89,945	23.7	70.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 13

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES PERCENT OF TOTAL AN
PERCENT INCIDENCE, RURAL FARM POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	85,020	100.0	41.8
Male Headed	74,216	87.3	39.9
Female Headed	10,804	12.7	63.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 14

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL AND
PERCENT INCIDENCE, RURAL FARM POPULATION, BY RACE MISSISSIPPI,
1970

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% OF INCIDENCE
Total	85,020	100.0	41.8
Black	60,972	71.8	70.2
Other	24,048	28.3	20.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 15

RATIO OF FAMILY INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL FOR FAMILY MEMBERS, FAMILY
HEADS, AND OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS, BY AGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

CATEGORY	PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		Under .50	.50 to .74	.74 to .99
All family members				
Under 25	38.8	18.5	11.0	9.3
25-44	22.1	9.1	6.5	6.5
45-64	26.8	11.5	8.0	7.3
65 and Over	46.8	15.2	17.8	13.8
Family Heads				
Under 25	25.0	11.6	6.5	7.0
25-44	23.1	10.4	6.3	6.4
45-64	26.8	12.3	7.6	6.9
65 and Over	49.7	17.3	18.7	13.7
Other family members	35.2	15.7	10.4	8.9

*Percent of all income levels for specified population category.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 16

RATIO OF INCOME OF FAMILY MEMBERS TO POVERTY THRESHOLDS, BY
RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

RATIO	TOTAL	WHITE	NEGRO	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
Under .50	302,285	70,097	230,876	88,007	173,341	40,937
.50 to .74	203,797	59,297	143,651	64,589	115,017	24,191
.75 to .99	175,672	70,855	104,004	64,058	91,722	19,892
1.00 to 1.24	166,005	84,244	81,214	63,577	86,871	15,557
1.25 to 1.49	147,862	92,962	54,704	61,119	73,466	13,277
1.50 to 1.99	262,494	196,281	65,665	116,313	123,233	22,948
2.00 to 2.99	375,443	326,958	47,761	183,493	161,959	29,991
3.00 or more	398,804	374,244	24,034	235,144	127,148	36,512
Column totals	2,032,362	1,274,938	751,909	876,300	952,757	203,305

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970, "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi," PC(1) -26, Table 207.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 17

PERCENT OF PERSONS AGE 65 AND OVER WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE
POVERTY THRESHOLD FOR AGED IN FAMILIES, UNRELATED MALES,
AND UNRELATED FEMALES, AND PERCENT WITH INCOMES OF SPECIFIED
RATIO TO POVERTY LEVELS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

AGED	INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	PERCENT WITH INCOMES OF SPECIFIED RATIO TO POVERTY THRESHOLD		
		Under .50	.50 to .74	.75 to .99
Members of Family	46.8	15.2	17.8	13.8
Unrelated Males	73.8	38.9	23.5	11.4
Unrelated Females	77.0	43.0	22.8	11.1

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

ILLUSTRATIVE INTERPRETATION: 38.9% of aged unrelated males had incomes
of .50 to .74 percent of the poverty
threshold.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 18

PERCENT OF PERSONS WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL,
AND PERSONS AGE 65 OR OVER, BY RACE, AGE, AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL POOR	WHITE POOR	BLACK POOR	TOTAL	PERSONS AGE 65 OR OVER		TOTAL	WHITE POOR	NONWHITE	
					TOTAL	POOR			TOTAL	POOR
State	35.4	17.9	64.9	10.0	15.4	10.2	24.6	9.8	11.1	
Urban	27.1	12.4	55.1	9.3	15.5	9.1	24.0	9.7	11.8	
Rural Nonfarm	41.8	22.7	71.8	10.3	15.8	10.6	25.4	9.8	11.1	
Rural Farm	42.3	22.0	70.4	11.6	13.7	12.7	22.7	10.1	9.9	

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970 "General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi," p. 26-168.

DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE OF UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH 1969 INCOMES UNDER
THE POVERTY THRESHOLD FOR ALL AGES AND AGE 65 AND OVER
FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND BLACK POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	STATE	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
All Races				
All ages	60.4	52.6	71.4	66.2
65 and over	76.1	68.7	84.7	74.4
Females				
All ages	65.3	57.7	76.2	72.3
65 and over	77.0	69.4	86.2	77.4
Males				
All ages	51.9	43.1	63.1	59.7
65 and over	73.8	66.0	80.9	70.5
Black Females				
All ages	84.4	80.7	89.6	86.4
65 and over	91.9	89.1	96.1	85.5
Black Males				
All ages	62.8	54.9	71.2	72.0
65 and over	84.2	79.9	89.2	81.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

MISSISSIPPI'S INCOME

APPENDIX TABLE 20

NUMBER OF PERSONS AGE 65 AND OVER, NUMBER AND PERCENT
POOR, UNITED STATES, 1959-1973

YEAR AND RACE	TOTAL	POOR	% POOR
ALL RACES			
1973.....	20,602	3,354	16.3
1972.....	20,117	3,738	18.6
1971.....	19,827	4,273	21.6
1970.....	19,254	4,709	24.5
1969.....	18,899	4,787	25.3
1959.....	15,557	5,481	35.2
WHITE			
1973.....	18,754	2,698	14.4
1972.....	18,340	3,072	16.8
1971.....	18,087	3,605	19.9
1970.....	17,684	3,981	22.5
1969.....	17,370	4,052	22.3
1959.....	14,341	4,744	33.1
BLACK			
1973.....	1,672	620	37.1
1972.....	1,603	640	39.9
1971.....	1,581	623	39.3
1970.....	1,422	683	48.0
1969.....	1,373	689	50.2
1959.....	1,138	711	62.5

(Numbers in thousands)

Source: Current Population Reports, "Characteristics of the Low-Income Population: 1973," Series P-60, No. 98 (January, 1975), p.9.

Illustrative Interpretation: The percentage of aged Blacks with incomes below the poverty level decreased from 48.0% in 1970 to 37.1% in 1973.

MISSISSIPPI'S INCOME

APPENDIX TABLE 21

TOTAL TRANSFER PAYMENTS, UNITED STATES, 1945-1975

YEAR	TOTAL TRANSFERS	% OF PERSONAL INCOME	RATIO TO PERSONAL INCOME
1945	\$ 5.7	3%	\$1 in 33
1955	16.1	5%	\$1 in 20
1965	37.2	7%	\$1 in 14
1975	177.0	14%	\$1 in 7

Source: U.S. News and World Report, (August 4, 1975), pp. 32-33

MISSISSIPPI'S INCOME

APPENDIX TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE TRENDS IN PERSONAL INCOME, IN CURRENT VALUE DOLLARS, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1959-1969

	<u>1959 to 1969 Change</u>		<u>1965 to 1969 Change</u>	
	<u>United States</u>	<u>Miss.</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>Miss.</u>
Total Personal Income	95.9%	102.9%	39.5%	39.4%
Total Wages & Salary Disbursements	97.6	116.1	41.8	46.5
Other Labor Income	177.9	169.9	51.2	55.3
Proprietors' Income	44.1	39.3	18.2	13.4
Farm Proprietors' Income	41.8	36.2	13.6	8.8
Nonfarm Proprietors' Income	44.9	42.9	19.9	18.9
Property Income	115.0	46.3	37.3	36.1
Transfer Payments	144.3	145.4	66.0	61.4
Less Personal Social Security Taxes	-235.8	-261.9	-95.6	-109.3

Source: Jackson City Planning Board, Economic Analysis; Jackson Metropolitan Area (May, 1972).

MISSISSIPPI'S INCOME

APPENDIX TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE ALLOCATION OF INCOME BY INDUSTRIAL SECTOR. AND
PERCENTAGE CHANGE, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI,
1959-1969

	United States			Mississippi		
	1959	1969	1959 to 1969 Change	1959	1969	1959 to 1969 Change
Total Personal Income	100.0%	100.0%	-0-	100.0%	100.0%	-0-
Total Wage & Salary Disbursements	67.2	67.7	0.5%	58.8	62.6	4.3%
Other Labor Income	2.7	3.8	1.1	2.3	3.0	0.7
Proprietors' Income	12.2	9.0	- 3.2	22.1	15.2	-6.9
Farm Proprietors' Income	3.1	2.2	- 0.9	11.8	7.9	-3.9
Nonfarm Proprietors' Income	9.1	6.8	- 2.3	10.3	7.3	-3.0
Property Income	12.9	4.2	1.3	9.6	11.4	1.8
Transfer Payments	7.1	8.8	1.7	9.0	10.9	1.9
Less Personal Social Security Taxes	-2.1	-3.5	1.4	-1.8	-3.1	1.3

Source: Same as Appendix Table 22.

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 24

POVERTY STATUS ACCORDING TO 1969 FAMILY INCOMES BY
STATUS OF FAMILY HEADS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

-
1. 154,000 of the 534,444 families in Mississippi in 1970 had 1969 incomes below the poverty level.
 2. 80,156 of the 406,345 families whose head was a member of the labor force were poor.
 3. 5,615 of the 11,660 families whose head was in the labor force but was unemployed were poor.
 4. 51,617 of the 329,876 heads of families who worked 35 hours or more during the reference week were poor.
 5. 51,617 of the 154,932 heads of poor families worked 35 hours or more during the reference week.
329,876 of the heads of the 534,444 all income families worked.
 6. The 5,615 poor families whose head was an unemployed member of the labor force were 3.6% of the total poor families.
The 11,660 families of all income levels whose head was unemployed members of the labor force were 2.2% of all income families.
 7. 79,306 of the heads of poor families were members of the labor force.
395,969 heads of all income families were members of the labor force.
 8. 74,776 of the 128,099 family heads not in the labor force were poor.
53,323 of the family heads not in the labor force were not poor.
79,306 of the 395,969 families whose head was in the labor force were poor.
 9. 80,391 of the heads of the 154,932 poor families were either unemployed were members of the labor force. 139,759 of the heads of the 534,444 all income families were either unemployed or were not members of the labor force.
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Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 25

PERCENT FAMILIES IN POVERTY BY STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL HEADS			WHITE HEADS			BLACK HEADS		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	29.0	24.5	58.0	16.0	14.3	33.8	59.4	53.4	77.3
Labor Force	19.7	17.0	48.1	9.1	8.4	21.4	49.6	44.9	71.1
Not in Labor Force	58.4	54.6	68.0	43.7	42.7	47.4	78.9	76.3	83.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 68% of the families in Mississippi in 1970 headed by a female who was not a member of the labor were poor.

APPENDIX TABLE 26

POVERTY FAMILIES WHOSE HEAD WAS NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE AS PERCENT OF ALL
INCOME FAMILY HEADS NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE, BY RACE AND SEX OF
HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	ALL INCOME	POOR	NOT IN LABOR FORCE POOR AS % OF
Total			
Total	128,099	74,776	58.4
Male Headed	92,304	50,431	54.6
Female Headed	35,795	24,345	68.0
White			
Total	74,607	32,574	43.7
Male Headed	59,541	25,436	42.7
Female Headed	15,066	7,138	47.4
Total	53,139	41,946	78.9
Male Headed	32,527	24,815	76.3
Female Headed	20,612	17,131	83.1

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 27

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED FEMALES, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL		PERCENT	
	Number	Percent	White	NonWhite
Total		100	68.4	31.3
Professional, Tech., Kindred	41,594	100	70.7	28.3
Managers (Non-farm), admin.	10,081	100	87.3	11.7
Sales Workers	15,397	100	91.1	8.9
Clerical and Kindred Wokers	63,145	100	92.4	7.6
Craftsmen, Foremen	5,034	100	92.4	7.6
Operatives (Exc. Transpt)	51,823	100	74.4	25.6
Transpt. Equipment				
Operatives	2,096	100	54.1	45.9
Laborers (Exc. Farm)	2,866	100	59.1	40.9
Farmers, Farm Mgrs.	935	100	71.8	21.2
Farm Laborers, Foremen	1,798	100	45.3	54.7
Service Workers (Ex. Hh.)	41,590	100	50.1	49.9
Private Household Workers	26,613	100	8.0	92.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 28

OCCUPATIONS OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY RACE AND SEX,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL	PERCENT WHITE	NONWHITE
Male	100.0*	100.0*	100.0*
Professional, Tech. Kindred	9.6	11.7	4.0
Managers (Non-farm), Adm.	10.3	13.3	2.0
Sales Workers	5.6	7.4	0.8
Clerical and Kindred Wokers	5.1	6.1	2.4
Craftsmen, Foremen	19.8	22.4	12.7
Operatives (exc. Transpt)	14.2	12.8	17.9
Transpt. Equipment Operatives	6.6	5.5	9.6
Laborers (exc. farm)	8.3	4.8	17.8
Farmers, Farm Mgrs.	4.2	4.4	3.4
Farm Laborers, Foremen	5.0	2.0	13.3
Service Workers (ex. Hh.)	5.5	4.3	8.7
Private Household Workers	0.2	---	0.6
Female	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, Tech., Kindred	14.8	15.3	13.7
Managers (Non-farm), Adm.	3.6	4.6	1.4
Sales Workers	5.5	7.3	1.5
Clerical and Kindred Workers	22.5	30.3	5.4
Craftsmen, Foremen	1.8	2.2	1.0
Operatives (exc. Trnspt)	18.4	20.1	14.9
Transpt. Equipment Operatives	0.7	0.6	1.1
Laborers (exc. farm)	1.0	0.9	1.3
Farmers, Farm Mgrs.	0.3	0.3	0.3
Service Workers (ex. Hh)	14.8	10.8	23.4
Private Household Workers	9.5	1.1	27.6

*Total less than 100% since those not reporting occupation are not included.

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY, OCCUPATIONAL, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 29

EEO SURVEY OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT PATTERN, MISSISSIPPI, 1971

Major Group and Sex	Total Employment	White Collar Occupations						Blue Collar Occupations				
		Total White Collar Employment	Offshore And Maritime	Professional	Technical	Other Business	Office And Clerical	Total Blue Collar Employment	Craft And Navy	Operatives	Laborers	
ALL INDUSTRIES												
NUMBER EMPLOYED (1,015 UNITS)												
ALL EMPLOYEES	200245	98345	14122	9789	9420	8487	20327	133107	31914	75395	26190	67
MALE	124040	32825	12550	7217	3889	3361	2008	86593	27091	79891	10611	46
FEMALE	76105	25520	1572	2572	1731	3126	16319	46514	4423	35504	6587	41
NEGRO	50545	3076	369	589	480	994	1044	42202	4316	22835	19051	92
MALE	34296	1329	311	204	175	313	326	30446	3628	14934	11884	29
FEMALE	16249	1747	58	385	305	281	718	11756	688	7901	3167	27
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	171	56	10	18	9	5	14	107	28	48	31	
MALE	119	42	10	15	7	3	7	71	20	24	27	
FEMALE	52	14	0	3	2	2	7	36	8	24	4	
AMERICAN INDIAN	236	21	8	4	2	0	7	200	21	112	67	
MALE	158	16	8	4	2	0	7	136	20	55	61	
FEMALE	78	5	0	0	0	0	0	64	1	57	6	
ORIENTAL	117	75	5	47	8	1	14	35	8	22	5	
MALE	65	52	5	38	5	0	4	12	5	4	3	
FEMALE	52	23	0	9	3	1	10	23	3	18	2	
PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED												
ALL EMPLOYEES	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
MALE	62.0	56.3	88.9	73.7	69.2	63.2	19.7	65.1	86.0	52.9	74.9	52.0
FEMALE	38.0	43.7	11.1	26.3	30.8	36.8	81.3	34.9	14.0	47.1	25.1	47.0
NEGRO	25.2	5.3	2.6	6.0	8.5	7.0	5.1	31.7	13.7	30.3	37.5	9.0
MALE	17.1	2.3	2.2	2.1	3.1	3.7	1.6	22.9	11.5	19.0	45.4	28.0
FEMALE	8.1	3.0	0.4	3.9	5.4	3.3	3.5	8.8	2.2	10.5	12.1	31.0
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
MALE	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
FEMALE	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AMERICAN INDIAN	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
MALE	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
FEMALE	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
ORIENTAL	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
MALE	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
FEMALE	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION												
ALL EMPLOYEES	100.0	29.1	7.1	4.9	2.8	4.2	10.2	66.5	15.7	37.7	13.1	4.3
MALE	100.0	26.5	10.1	5.8	3.1	4.3	3.1	69.8	21.8	32.2	15.8	3.4
FEMALE	100.0	33.5	2.1	3.4	2.3	4.1	21.7	61.1	5.8	46.6	8.6	5.9
NEGRO	100.0	6.1	0.7	1.2	0.9	1.2	2.1	83.5	8.5	45.2	29.8	10.0
MALE	100.0	3.9	0.9	0.6	0.5	0.9	1.0	88.8	10.6	43.5	34.7	7.0
FEMALE	100.0	10.8	0.4	2.4	1.9	1.7	4.4	72.3	4.2	48.6	19.5	18.0
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN	100.0	32.7	5.8	10.5	5.3	2.9	8.2	62.6	16.4	28.1	18.1	4.3
MALE	100.0	35.3	8.4	12.6	5.9	2.5	5.9	59.7	16.8	20.2	22.7	5.4
FEMALE	100.0	26.9	0.0	5.8	3.8	3.8	13.5	69.2	15.4	46.2	7.7	3.4
AMERICAN INDIAN	100.0	8.9	3.4	1.7	0.8	0.0	3.0	84.7	8.9	47.5	28.4	4.3
MALE	100.0	10.1	5.1	2.5	1.3	0.0	1.3	86.1	12.7	34.8	38.4	3.4
FEMALE	100.0	6.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.4	82.1	1.3	7.1	7.7	11.0
ORIENTAL	100.0	64.1	4.3	40.2	6.8	0.9	12.0	29.9	6.8	18.8	4.3	6.4
MALE	100.0	80.0	7.7	58.5	7.7	0.0	6.7	18.5	7.7	6.7	4.6	1.4
FEMALE	100.0	44.2	0.0	17.3	5.8	1.9	19.2	44.2	5.8	34.6	3.8	11.0

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Report - 1971, Vol. 7, p. 74.

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 30

EEO SURVEY OCCUPATIONAL EMPLOYMENT PATTERN, MISSISSIPPI, 1973

		WHITE EMPLOYED	WHITE UNEMPLOYED	WHITE TOTAL	BLACK EMPLOYED	BLACK UNEMPLOYED	BLACK TOTAL	SPANISH EMPLOYED	SPANISH UNEMPLOYED	SPANISH TOTAL	ASIAN EMPLOYED	ASIAN UNEMPLOYED	ASIAN TOTAL	AMERICAN INDIAN EMPLOYED	AMERICAN INDIAN UNEMPLOYED	AMERICAN INDIAN TOTAL
ALL INDUSTRIES																
NUMBER EMPLOYEES - 1,214 UNITS-																
ALL EMPLOYEES		252284	79376	108220	13878	9303	11715	23440	150481	39136	87542	31803	14427			
MALE		146777	41315	162448	9196	4926	6640	4305	99176	31613	65398	22205	6286			
FEMALE		105507	38061	25722	4682	4377	5075	21335	59305	7523	42144	9598	8141			
WHITE		176477	71915	17992	12567	7906	10406	23046	98536	32022	93978	12536	6076			
MALE		101802	38009	13590	8652	4551	4054	3732	60335	24387	26013	8015	2858			
FEMALE		74675	33906	2402	3885	3355	4350	19314	38201	5715	27965	4521	3108			
MINORITY		75807	7661	828	1311	1397	1311	2614	39949	7114	33564	19267	6401			
MALE		44975	2706	458	514	375	589	573	38891	3306	19349	14190	5428			
FEMALE		30832	4755	170	797	1022	725	2041	21104	1808	14219	5077	4973			
BLACK		74549	7031	775	1134	1294	1290	2538	59152	4956	33174	19022	8366			
MALE		44209	2476	611	592	334	575	542	38329	5109	19124	14016	3406			
FEMALE		30340	4555	164	742	960	715	1976	20823	1767	14050	5006	4960			
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN		355	138	25	29	45	6	35	201	37	81	83	16			
MALE		234	48	21	24	10	3	15	132	32	51	72	11			
FEMALE		121	70	2	3	35	3	27	69	5	30	11	5			
ASIAN AMERICAN		374	214	14	130	49	5	16	153	50	72	31	7			
MALE		207	118	11	74	24	2	2	89	42	21	26	0			
FEMALE		167	96	3	56	25	3	14	64	8	51	5	7			
AMERICAN INDIAN		929	78	18	18	9	10	29	439	71	237	131	12			
MALE		325	48	19	17	7	6	1	268	45	149	76	11			
FEMALE		204	30	1	1	2	4	24	171	26	88	55	1			
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EMPLOYED																
ALL EMPLOYEES		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0			
MALE		58.2	52.0	66.3	66.3	53.0	56.7	18.8	82.6	80.9	51.8	69.8	43.6			
FEMALE		41.8	48.0	33.7	33.7	47.0	43.3	81.2	17.4	19.2	48.2	30.2	56.4			
WHITE		70.0	90.6	95.6	90.6	85.0	88.8	89.8	62.2	81.8	61.7	39.4	41.8			
MALE		40.4	68.6	82.6	62.6	46.9	51.7	14.5	38.1	67.2	29.7	25.2	19.8			
FEMALE		29.6	42.0	12.8	28.0	38.1	37.1	75.3	24.1	14.6	31.9	14.2	22.0			
MINORITY		30.0	9.4	4.4	9.4	15.0	11.2	10.2	37.8	18.2	38.3	60.6	58.2			
MALE		17.8	3.4	3.5	3.7	4.0	5.0	2.2	24.5	13.6	22.1	44.6	23.8			
FEMALE		12.2	6.0	.9	5.7	11.0	6.2	8.0	13.3	4.6	16.2	16.0	34.5			
BLACK		29.5	8.9	6.1	8.2	13.9	11.0	9.9	37.3	17.8	37.9	59.6	50.0			
MALE		17.9	3.1	3.2	2.8	3.6	4.9	2.2	24.2	13.3	21.8	44.1	23.8			
FEMALE		12.0	5.7	.9	5.3	10.3	6.1	7.7	13.1	4.5	16.0	15.7	26.4			
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN		.1	.2	.1	.2	.5	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.3	.1			
MALE		.1	.1	.1	.2	.1	.0	.0	.1	.1	.1	.2	.1			
FEMALE		.0	.1	.0	.0	.4	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0			
ASIAN AMERICAN		.1	.3	.1	.9	.5	.0	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.0			
MALE		.1	.1	.1	.6	.3	.0	.0	.1	.1	.0	.1	.0			
FEMALE		.1	.1	.0	.4	.2	.0	.1	.0	.0	.1	.0	.0			
AMERICAN INDIAN		.2	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.3	.2	.3	.4	.1			
MALE		.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.1	.0	.2	.1	.2	.2	.1			
FEMALE		.1	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.1	.1	.1	.1	.2	.0			
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION																
ALL EMPLOYEES		100.0	31.5	7.5	5.5	3.7	4.6	10.2	62.6	15.5	56.7	12.6	9.7			
MALE		100.0	28.1	11.1	6.3	3.4	4.5	2.9	67.6	21.5	30.9	15.1	4.3			
FEMALE		100.0	36.1	2.4	4.4	4.1	4.8	20.2	56.2	7.1	60.0	9.1	7.7			
WHITE		100.0	40.8	10.2	7.1	4.5	5.9	13.1	79.8	18.1	30.6	7.1	3.4			
MALE		100.0	37.9	15.3	8.5	4.5	5.9	3.7	54.3	25.6	25.6	7.9	2.8			
FEMALE		100.0	44.6	3.2	5.2	4.5	5.8	25.9	51.2	7.7	37.4	6.1	4.2			
MINORITY		100.0	9.8	1.1	1.7	1.8	1.7	3.4	79.1	9.4	64.3	25.4	11.1			
MALE		100.0	8.0	1.5	1.1	.8	1.3	1.3	86.4	11.8	63.0	31.6	7.6			
FEMALE		100.0	15.4	.6	2.6	3.3	2.4	6.6	68.4	5.9	66.1	16.5	16.1			
BLACK		100.0	9.4	1.0	1.5	1.7	1.7	3.4	79.3	9.3	64.5	25.5	11.2			
MALE		100.0	5.6	1.4	.9	.8	1.3	1.3	86.7	11.7	63.3	31.7	7.7			
FEMALE		100.0	15.0	.5	2.4	3.2	2.4	6.5	68.6	5.8	66.3	16.5	16.3			
SPANISH SURNAMED AMERICAN		100.0	39.9	6.5	8.2	12.7	1.7	9.9	56.6	10.4	22.8	23.4	6.5			
MALE		100.0	29.1	9.0	11.1	4.3	1.3	3.4	66.2	13.7	21.8	30.8	4.7			
FEMALE		100.0	57.9	1.7	2.5	28.9	2.5	22.3	38.0	4.1	24.8	9.1	4.1			
ASIAN AMERICAN		100.0	57.2	3.7	34.8	13.1	1.3	4.3	60.9	13.4	19.3	6.3	1.9			
MALE		100.0	57.0	5.3	38.2	11.6	1.0	1.0	63.0	20.3	10.1	12.6	.6			
FEMALE		100.0	57.9	1.8	30.5	15.0	1.8	6.4	58.3	4.6	30.5	3.0	4.2			
AMERICAN INDIAN		100.0	14.7	3.0	3.4	1.7	1.9	6.7	83.0	13.4	44.8	24.6	2.3			
MALE		100.0	14.2	6.6	5.2	2.2	1.0	.3	82.5	13.2	45.8	23.4	3.4			
FEMALE		100.0	15.7	.5	.5	1.0	2.6	11.6	83.8	13.7	43.1	27.0	.5			

Source: Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1973, Vol. 7, p. 159.

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 31

	TOTAL	MALE WHITE	NONWHITE	TOTAL	FEMALE WHITE	NONWHITE
1960	71.8	74.4	67.3	32.8	31.8	34.4
1970	65.2	70.5	54.0	36.5	37.3	35.1
Change	-6.6	-3.9	-13.3	3.7	5.5	.7

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 32

UNEMPLOYMENT TRENDS, MISSISSIPPI, 1961 - 1975

YEAR	UNEMPLOYED	RATE
1961	60,400	8.0%
1962	49,200	6.5
1963	47,300	6.2
1964	43,700	5.7
1965	36,000	4.7
1966	33,000	4.2
1967	37,800	4.7
1968	36,000	4.5
1969	34,000	4.2
1970	39,700	4.8
1971	38,800	4.7
1972	32,800	3.8
1973	31,800	3.5
1974	38,800	4.2
1975*	89,300	9.2

June, 1975

Source: Mississippi Employment Security Commission

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN SPECIFIED CATEGORIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1961-1970

	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
Civilian Labor Force	757.3	756.5	763.7	767.4	773.6	785.5	793.1	801.5	816.5	828.1
Unemployment	60.4	49.2	47.3	43.7	43.7	33.0	33.0	37.8	34.0	39.7
Employment	696.9	707.3	716.4	723.5	736.9	755.5	755.3	765.3	782.0	787.7
Agricultural	175.1	167.3	157.2	147.1	133.8	119.2	109.2	105.4	103.7	102.3
Manufacturing	118.7	127.6	134.1	140.1	152.6	166.2	167.0	175.0	182.1	181.5
Durable Goods	50.0	55.6	62.0	67.2	76.8	85.7	84.5	88.7	94.4	93.5
Lumber and Wood Products	24.9	26.1	29.8	30.5	33.0	36.1	34.8	35.4	37.5	35.9
Metal Industries	4.2	5.3	5.9	6.8	7.8	8.7	9.0	9.9	10.6	10.6
Machinery	8.3	9.2	10.7	13.0	15.0	16.9	16.6	18.2	19.6	19.9
Transportation Equipment	5.9	7.6	7.5	8.1	10.6	12.1	12.5	13.5	14.2	15.2
Other Durable Goods	6.7	7.4	8.1	8.8	10.4	11.9	11.6	11.7	12.5	11.9
Nondurable Goods	68.7	72.3	72.0	73.1	75.8	80.5	82.4	86.3	87.5	87.8
Food and Kindred products	16.5	16.5	16.6	16.9	16.9	17.1	17.2	17.6	17.7	18.8
Apparel & Kindred products	28.1	30.9	32.9	32.6	34.5	37.4	37.8	38.5	38.6	38.4
Printing & Publish	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0
Chemical & Allied Products	4.1	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.8	4.8	5.1	5.2	5.2	5.5
Other Goods	17.5	18.3	15.7	16.4	17.0	18.4	19.5	22.1	23.1	22.1
Mining	6.3	6.2	6.4	6.3	5.9	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.9	6.4
Construction	23.6	23.1	25.1	26.6	28.8	31.0	30.9	29.3	32.1	33.1
Trnsp., Comm., Utilities	25.0	25.4	25.9	26.5	26.8	27.1	27.8	28.5	29.6	30.0
Wholesale & Retail Trd.	83.7	85.0	87.5	90.2	92.7	97.1	99.0	100.8	104.0	106.1
Finance, Ins. Real Est.	14.4	15.1	15.8	16.4	16.9	17.6	18.6	19.3	20.1	21.1
Svc. & Miscellaneous	159.4	163.2	167.2	170.9	174.2	177.2	176.6	175.8	176.4	176.3
Government	90.8	94.2	97.2	99.5	105.2	114.3	120.5	125.1	128.0	130.9

Source: Jackson City Planning Board, Economic Analysis, (P 972).

POVERTY, OCCUPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT

APPENDIX TABLE 34

CIVILIAN FEMALE FAMILY HEADS WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY
LEVELS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL BY WEEKS WORKED, BY OCCUPATIONAL
DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

OCCUPATION	WEEKS WORKED IN 1969 FOR HEADS WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL				
	Did not work in 1969	26 weeks or less	27-39 weeks	40-49 weeks	50-52 weeks
All Occupations	80.6	71.6	53.1	49.3	37.1
Professional, Tech- nical, Kindred	71.7	35.0	19.9	20.4	15.7
Managers, Admin.	72.0	49.4	31.6	29.7	12.2
Sales Workers	49.4	40.2	35.1	15.4	19.9
Clerical and Kindred	77.8	54.2	31.0	27.5	10.2
Craftsmen and (operat- ives (including trans.)	71.7	76.2	62.9	43.0	28.1
Laborers (ex. farm)	100.0	75.6	55.5	38.7	46.0
Farm Workers	73.4	70.9	66.7	59.4	42.6
Service Workers	86.3	79.3	72.8	60.1	52.7
Private Household Workers	82.4	88.9	77.5	80.7	79.5
Head Unemployed	87.9	82.2	71.2	64.5	64.3
Head not in labor force	68.2	74.7	55.9	58.7	48.6

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 35

MEAN NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18
FOR POVERTY FAMILIES AND ALL INCOME FAMILIES, BY
RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	ALL INCOME FAMILIES	POVERTY FAMILIES
All Families		
White	2.18	2.69
Negro	3.46	3.85
Male Headed		
White	2.19	2.77
Negro	3.49	4.02
Female Headed		
White	2.10	2.45
Negro	3.38	3.56

U.S. Census Population, 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 36

MEAN NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS FOR
POVERTY AND NON POVERTY FAMILIES, BY SEX AND RACE OF CHILDREN,
AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

AREA MALE HEADS	MEAN CHILDREN UNDER 18					
	ALL INCOME LEVELS			BELOW POVERTY INCOME LEVEL		
	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
State	2.62	2.18	2.46	3.51	2.69	3.85
Urban	2.44	2.12	3.12	3.28	2.54	3.55
Rural Nonfarm	2.75	2.24	3.69	3.63	2.79	4.01
Rural Farm	2.84	2.20	3.79	3.66	2.64	4.05

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 37

PERCENTAGE OF BLACK FAMILIES WITH RELATED CHILDREN
UNDER 18 WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW THE
POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
Total	63.4
One	49.1
Two	55.3
Three	62.3
Four	71.1
Five	75.5
Six	81.6
Seven	78.9
Eight or More	79.6

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 38

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH 1969 INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVELS,
BY NUMBER OF UNRELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

FAMILY STATUS	INCOME BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	
	MALE HEAD	FEMALE HEAD
No Related Children Under 18	24.7	37.0
With Related Children Under 18	24.3	67.4
1 Related Child	15.1	52.3
2 Related Children	16.0	60.0
3 Related Children	23.2	69.9
4 Related Children	35.6	80.6
5 Related Children	51.5	89.0
6 or more Related Children	69.2	90.2
Average Number of Related Children	2.20	2.74

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative interpretation: 90.2% of the female headed families in Mississippi in 1970 with 6 or more unrelated children had 1969 incomes below the poverty level.

POVERTY FAMILY AND SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 39

PERCENT FAMILIES OF ALL INCOME AND BELOW POVERTY LEVELS,
BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

FAMILY STATUS	ALL INCOME LEVELS	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL
No Related Children Under 18	38.8	34.8
With Related Children Under 18	61.2	65.2
1 Related Child	19.4	13.8
2 Related Children	17.0	12.5
3 Related Children	10.6	10.8
4 Related Children	6.2	9.3
5 Related Children	3.6	7.3
6 or More Related Children	4.5	11.4
Average Number of Related Children	2.6	3.5

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustration Interpretation: Only 3.6% of all families residing in Mississippi in 1970 had 5 or more related children, while 7.3% with incomes below the poverty level had 5 or more related children under 18 living in the household in 1970.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 40

PERCENT OF FAMILIES OF ALL INCOME AND BELOW POVERTY LEVELS,
BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18,
WHITE POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

FAMILY STATUS	ALL INCOME LEVELS	BELOW POVERTY LEVELS
No Related Children Under 18	42.8	51.6
With Related Children Under 18	57.2	48.4
1 Related Child	20.4	13.5
2 Related Children	18.4	12.2
3 Related Children	10.5	9.5
4 Related Children	5.0	6.7
5 Related Children	1.9	3.9
6 or More Related Children	1.0	2.6
Average Number of Related Children	2.18	2.69

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 5% of all income families had five or more related children under 18, compared with 6.7% of the poor white families.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 41

PERCENT OF FAMILIES OF ALL INCOME AND BELOW POVERTY LEVELS,
BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18,
BLACK POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI 1970

FAMILY STATUS	ALL INCOME LEVELS	BELOW POVERTY LEVELS
No Related Children Under 18	29.3	24.3
With Related Children Under 18	70.7	75.7
1 Related Child	16.9	13.9
2 Related Children	13.6	12.7
3 Related Children	11.0	11.6
4 Related Children	9.2	11.0
5 Related Children	7.5	9.5
6 or More Related Children	12.6	17.0
Average Number of Related Children		3.85

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustration Interpretation: 7.5% of all income black families had five related children under 18, compared with 9.5% of the poor black families.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 42

MEDIAN 1969 FAMILY INCOME, BY RACE AND NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	STATE MEDIAN INCOME ALL INCOME FAMILIES		MEDIAN INCOME POVERTY FAMILIES	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Total	8,420	3,424	2,235	2,182
One	8,099	2,207	1,507	1,421
Two	8,770	3,556	2,057	1,909
Three	8,682	3,662	2,474	2,324
Four	8,322	3,536	2,808	2,612
Five	7,675	3,508	3,007	2,804
Six	6,771	3,169	3,728	2,556
Seven	6,712	3,434	2,931	2,829
Eight	7,045	3,307	2,746	2,729

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 43

BLACK MEDIAN INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF WHITE MEDIAN
BY NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN
UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

NO. OF CHILDREN	BLACK AS PERCENTAGE OF WHITE
Total	40.7%
One	39.5%
Two	40.5%
Three	42.1%
Four	42.5%
Five	45.7%
Six	46.8%
Seven	51.2%
Eight or More	46.9%

Source: Computed from U. S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

APPENDIX TABLE 44

MEAN NUMBER OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 FOR POVERTY FAMILIES AND ALL INCOME FAMILIES, BY STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD, FOR RESIDENTIAL AREAS, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

AREA	ALL FAMILIES		MALE HEAD		FEMALE HEAD	
	ALL	POVERTY	ALL	POVERTY	ALL	POVERTY
State	2.62	3.51	2.57	3.61	2.93	3.32
Urban	2.44	3.28	2.37	3.37	2.54	3.19
Rural						
Nonfarm	2.75	3.62	2.70	3.69	3.08	3.43
Rural						
Farm	2.88	3.70	2.85	3.71	3.19	3.65
Jackson						
SMSA	2.46	3.47	2.40	3.68	2.74	3.20

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

POVERTY AND FATHERLESS FAMILIES

APPENDIX TABLE 45

FAMILIES WITH INCOMES ABOVE THE POVERTY LEVEL BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL ¹		WHITE		BLACK	
	Non-Poor		Non-Poor		Non-Poor	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All Families	380,190	100.0%	314,704	100.0%	64,922	100.0%
Male Headed	350,021	92.1%	293,692	93.3%	55,760	85.9%
Female Headed	30,169	7.9%	21,012	6.6%	9,092	14.0%

¹Includes Non-whites other than Negroes

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Illustrative Interpretation: 92.1% of all families with incomes above the poverty level are male headed.

APPENDIX TABLE 46
 ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS AS PERCENT OF TOTAL FOR SPECIFIED AGE GROUPS,
 AND ILLEGITIMACY RATE, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Age of Mother	Number			Percent			Rate*		
	Total	White	Non- White	Total	White	Non- White	Total	White	Non- White
Total	9,327	848	8,479	19.4	3.4	36.5	57.1	9.9	109.1
10-14	250	25	225	88.0	55.6	94.1	**	**	**
15-19	4,715	435	4,280	40.5	9.7	59.8	48.5	8.3	95.5
20-24	2,602	282	2,320	14.6	2.7	31.1	84.5	17.4	158.5
25-29	850	67	783	8.4	1.1	20.3	80.3	14.0	134.9
30-34	505	28	477	10.2	1.1	19.5	60.1	6.4	117.9
35-39	276	10	266	11.1	1.0	18.0	35.5	2.8	63.8
40-44	116	1	115	14.3	0.4	21.1	13.3	0.2	27.1
45-49	10	0	10	16.1	-	18.5	1.0	-	2.3
Unknown	3	0	3						

*For total group - illegitimate live births per 1,000 unmarried females 15-44 years of age; for specific age groups - illegitimate live births per 1,000 unmarried females in specified group.

**Population not available for calculation of rate.

Discussion: Reported illegitimacy continued to increase in Mississippi in 1970. Some 19.4% of all births in the State were illegitimate. The trends have been consistently upward for whites since 1957 and since 1949 for nonwhites. For mothers under age 15, 88% of the births were illegitimate. 22% of the white and 48% of the nonwhite women who had an illegitimate child in 1970 had had at least one previous delivery. Responsible demographic factors are the increased number of females in the child-bearing ages (up 28% between 1960 and 1970, whereas the total female population increased by only 3%). In addition, the proportion of females age 15-44 unmarried increased from 39% to 50%. Thus, there were more women susceptible to an illegitimate conception and relatively fewer married women to risk legitimate conception.

In spite of the increase in the proportion of births that were illegitimate, the relative occurrence among unmarried women was not as great in 1970 as in 1960 (illegitimacy rate). The rate for nonwhites in 1970 was 11 times the rate for whites, but the disparity was considerably less than in 1950 when the rate for nonwhites was over 25 times that for whites. Proportionately, more illegitimate births occur to teenage females, but the risk of illegitimacy is greatest among women age 20-24.

Vital Statistics, Mississippi 1970, pp. XIII-XIV.

POVERTY AND HEALTH

APPENDIX TABLE 47

CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN EVER MARRIED,
BY RACE, SELECTED AGE CATEGORIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

POPULATION	TOTAL*	Age 15-19	Age 20-24	Age 40-44	Age 65 or Over
Total	3,064	750	1,302	3,744	3,481
White	2,620	542	1,055	2,944	3,409
Black	4,063	1,170	2,022	5,554	3,612

*Age 15 and over

Source: U.S. Census of Population, Detailed Characteristic,
Mississippi.

APPENDIX TABLE 48

NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN AGE 35-44
BY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

VARIABLE	TOTAL	WHITE	NONHITE
Age at First Marriage			
14-17	4,442	3,394	12,080
30 and over	2,704	1,645	4,134
Years of School Completed			
Less than 8	4,966	3,410	5,699
4 years college	2,364	2,394	2,258
1969 Income of Husband			
Under 2,000	4,905	3,148	6,419
\$2,000 - 2,999	5,277	3,422	6,473
\$3,000 - 3,999	4,648	3,289	5,872
\$15,000 - and Over	2,862	2,852	4,721*

* \$10,000 and Over

Source: Same as Appendix Table 47.

APPENDIX TABLE 49

NUMBER OF HOSPITAL BEDS PER 1,000 POPULATION AND PATIENT DAYS
DAYS PER 1,000 POPULATION, BY HOSPITAL AREA
MISSISSIPPI, OCTOBER 1973 - September, 1974

Hospital Area	Beds Per 1000/Pop.	Pat. Days Per 1000/Pop.	Hospital Area	Beds Per 1000/Pop.	Pat. Days Per 1000/Pop.
Aberdeen-Amory	4.67	1,146.1	Hazlehurst	2.34	687.1
Ackerman-Eupora	4.24	1,173.0	Hernando-Senatobia	0.00	00.0
Batesville-Sardis	2.73	708.9	Holly Springs	1.22	292.4
Bay Springs	4.17	1,135.7	Houston-Okolona	7.00	1,808.2
Belzoni	5.91	1,181.2	Indianola-Ruleville	4.08	836.1
Booneville	5.75	1,417.7	Iuka	4.98	1,730.5
Brookhaven	5.16	1,388.5	Jackson-Brandon	6.54	1,637.9
Calhoun City-Bruce- Vardaman	6.43	1,669.2	Kosciusko	4.11	973.7
Canton	2.08	443.3	Laurel-Ellisville	6.82	1,878.6
Carthage-Madden	3.66	849.3	Leakesville	4.98	946.7
Centerville	2.48	838.8	Lexington-Durant	2.85	782.7
Charleston	2.50	711.7	Louisville	2.61	753.3
Clarksdale	3.39	1,014.2	Lucedale	4.54	1,102.3
Cleveland-Shelby- Mound Bayou	3.23	875.6	McComb-Magnolia	4.79	1,201.9
Collins	4.77	1,187.9	Macon	3.62	1,153.8
Columbia	2.96	809.6	Meadville	7.34	1,252.1
Columbia	4.39	1,125.6	Mendenhall	4.99	1,228.9
Corinth	4.11	965.5	Meridian	11.16	2,779.3
DeKalb	3.35	513.3	Monticello	3.96	1,305.5
Forest-Morton	3.55	715.1	Natchez	7.64	1,515.8
Greenville-Leland	4.74	1,405.3	New Albany	4.31	1,323.6
Greenwood	3.43	1,094.9	Newton-Union	4.75	1,393.0
Grenada	4.65	1,155.2	Oxford	4.32	1,083.3
Gulfport-Biloxi	3.67	898.9	Pascagoula-Ocean Springs	3.79	1,003.0
Hattiesburg	7.05	2,136.3	Philadelphia	3.86	1,228.7

APPENDIX TABLE 49 (CONTINUATION)

Hospital Area	Beds Per 1000/Pop.	Pat. Days Per 1000/Pop.
Picayune	3.72	926.0
Pontotoc	4.48	1,291.1
Poplarville-Lumberton	4.32	887.9
Port Gibson	2.21	566.4
Prentiss	3.11	755.3
Quitman	1.50	560.7
Raleigh	2.17	295.2
Richton	4.51	1,055.8
Ripley	3.43	1,405.8
Rolling Fork	2.54	654.3
Starkville	1.98	525.7
Tunica	1.90	352.3
Tupeol-Baldwyn-Fulton	6.33	1,835.1
Tylertown	4.70	871.8
Vicksburg	8.84	1,928.8
Water Valley	2.55	700.9
Waynesboro	2.63	700.9
West Point	3.49	692.8
Wiggins	3.99	1,096.1
Winona	5.70	1,422.3
Yazoo City	3.29	1,011.8

Unpublished data, Mississippi Commission on Hospital Care.

APPENDIX TABLE 50

FERTILITY RATES, BY RACE, SELECTED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI

Year	Mississippi			United States		
	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White
1950	134.3	101.7	175.2	106.2	102.3	137.3
1960	142.4	107.9	195.6	118.0	113.2	153.6
1970	107.4	85.4	147.9	87.9	84.1	115.4

*Live births per 1,000 females 15-44 years of age.

Vital Statistics, Mississippi 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 51

FERTILITY RATES, BY RACE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Age of Mother	Fertility Rate*		
	Total	White	Non-White
Total	107.4	85.5	147.9
10-14	2.3	0.7	4.2
15-19	101.2	69.6	141.4
20-24	202.1	179.0	246.1
25-29	151.6	135.1	188.4
30-34	82.3	60.3	130.4
35-39	43.3	25.5	83.0
40-44	13.3	6.4	28.5
45-49	1.0	0.2	3.0
Unknown			

* For total group - live births per 1,000 females 15-44 years of age; for specific age groups - live births per 1,000 females in specified group.

Vital Statistics, Mississippi 1970.

APPENDIX TABLE 52

AGGREGATE AND PER CAPITA NATIONAL HEALTH EXPENDITURES, BY SOURCE OF FUNDS AND
PERCENT OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT, SELECTED FISCAL YEARS, 1929-1975

Fiscal Year	Gross national product (in billions)	Health Expenditures							
		TOTAL			PRIVATE			PUBLIC	
		Amount (in millions)	Per Capita	Percent of GNP	Amount (in millions)	Per Capita	Percent of total	Amount (in millions)	Percent of total
1929.....	\$101.0	\$3,589	\$29.16	3.6	\$3,112	\$25.28	86.7	\$477	\$3.88
1935.....	68.7	2,846	22.04	4.1	2,303	17.84	80.9	543	4.21
1940.....	95.1	3,863	28.83	4.1	3,081	22.99	79.8	782	5.84
1950.....	263.4	12,028	78.35	4.6	8,962	58.38	74.5	3,065	19.97
1955.....	379.7	17,330	103.76	4.6	12,909	77.29	74.5	4,421	26.46
1960.....	495.6	25,856	141.63	5.2	19,461	106.60	75.3	6,395	35.03
1965.....	655.6	38,892	197.75	5.9	29,357	149.27	75.5	9,535	48.48
1966.....	718.5	42,109	211.56	5.9	31,279	157.15	74.3	10,830	54.41
1967.....	771.4	47,879	237.93	6.2	32,057	159.30	67.0	15,823	78.63
1968.....	827.0	53,765	264.37	6.5	33,727	165.84	62.7	20,040	98.54
1969.....	899.0	60,617	295.20	6.7	37,682	183.51	62.2	22,937	111.70
1970.....	954.8	69,202	333.57	7.2	43,964	211.92	63.5	25,238	121.65
1971.....	1,013.6	77,162	368.25	7.6	48,558	231.74	62.9	28,604	136.51
1972.....	1,100.6	86,687	409.71	7.9	53,398	252.37	61.6	33,289	157.33
1973.....	1,225.2	95,384	447.31	7.8	58,995	276.66	61.8	36,389	170.65
1974.....	1,348.9	104,030	484.35	7.7	63,152	294.03	60.7	40,879	190.33
1975.....	1,424.3	118,500	547.03	8.3	68,552	316.46	57.8	29,948	230.57

Social Security Administration, "National Health Expenditures, Fiscal Year 1975, Research and Statistics Note, No. 20, (November 21, 1975).

1970

POVERTY AND HEALTH

POVERTY AND HEALTH CARE SERVICES

APPENDIX TABLE 53

MEDICAID UTILIZATION RATE¹ BY PROGRAM CATEGORY,
MISSISSIPPI FISCAL YEARS 1972-1974

	1972	1973	1974
OA	82.6	86.5	88.7
AB	76.5	80.5	82.6
APTD	85.4	90.1	90.7
AFDC Children	55.7	65.8	66.4
AFDC Adults	74.9	85.6	84.1
Others	14.9	50.2	55.9
Totals	68.1	76.3	76.9

Source: Annual Reports of the Mississippi Medicaid Commission, 1972-1974.

¹The utilization rate is determined by dividing the average number of recipients by the average number of eligibles, thus giving an index of the extent to which those persons eligible actually utilize one or more services.

APPENDIX TABLE 54

FEDERAL OUTLAYS FOR MEDICAL CARE TO THE POOR, 1972

PROGRAM	(MILLIONS)
Total	\$ 6,229
Medicare	1,840
Medicaid	2,320
Community Health Projects	346
Veterans	239
Maternal and Child Health	257
Indians	170
Others	58

Source: Sar A. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor in the 1970s, (John Hopkins Press, 1973), p. 63. Original: Office of Economic Opportunity.

APPENDIX TABLE 55

MEDICAID EXPENDITURES, MEDICAL SERVICES AND ADMINISTRATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970 - 1974

EXPENDITURE	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970*
Medical Service	\$89,702,656	61,210,563	53,859,182	38,126,339	8,249,089
% Change From Past Year	46.5	13.6	41.3	--	--
Adminis- tration	4,614,792	2,328,665	2,034,622	1,297,505	1,700,084
% of Total	5.4	3.8	3.8	3.4	14.2

*Program operated only 6 months of the fiscal year.

Source: Same as Appendix Table 53.

POVERTY AND HEALTH CARE SERVICE

APPENDIX TABLE 56

NUMBER OF PERSONS ELIGIBLE FOR MEDICAID AS OF JUNE 30, 1974,
NUMBER OF PERSONS RECEIVING ONE OR MORE MEDICAL SERVICES
DURING FISCAL YEAR 1974, AND AMOUNT OF EXPENDITURES
MISSISSIPPI, FISCAL YEAR, 1974 BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE

County	Eligibles		Recipients	Expenditures ¹
	Number	% of Pop.		
TOTAL -----	325,133	14.2	275,314	\$78,414,951
Adams-----	6,658	17.8	5,662	1,193,782
Alcorn-----	2,849	10.3	2,403	1,077,059
Amite-----	1,428	11.1	1,241	288,672
Attala-----	2,654	14.0	2,230	431,642
Benton-----	1,278	18.0	1,026	201,220
Bolivar-----	12,473	25.1	10,576	2,252,692
Calhoun-----	1,998	13.1	1,976	642,097
Carroll-----	1,763	18.8	1,626	368,857
Chickasaw-----	2,554	14.9	2,403	757,656
Choctaw-----	1,642	19.5	1,591	499,242
Claiborne-----	2,192	21.5	2,016	328,102
Clarke-----	2,497	16.2	2,373	542,675
Clay-----	3,052	15.9	2,580	465,083
Coahoma-----	9,490	25.0	7,684	1,523,681
Copiah-----	4,524	17.1	4,161	1,098,283
Covington-----	2,208	15.8	2,128	802,206
DeSoto-----	3,781	8.9	2,861	375,968
Forrest-----	4,332	7.2	3,499	1,956,507
Franklin-----	933	11.7	875	436,707
George-----	1,361	10.5	1,364	590,738
Greene-----	1,278	14.9	1,336	415,268
Grenada-----	3,161	16.1	2,855	1,181,022
Hancock-----	1,421	8.0	1,267	521,555
Harrison-----	8,886	6.2	6,859	2,155,023
Hinds-----	31,164	14.1	23,980	6,568,007
Holmes-----	7,982	35.8	6,677	1,330,306
Humphreys-----	4,280	31.0	3,837	897,073
Issaquena-----	674	29.3	555	141,831
Itawamba-----	1,386	8.3	1,435	596,750
Jackson-----	3,582	3.6	2,825	878,337
Jasper-----	2,538	16.2	2,463	664,335
Jefferson-----	2,764	31.8	2,392	553,902
Jefferson Davis-----	2,557	19.7	2,306	654,154
Jones-----	5,793	9.8	4,964	2,374,977
Kemper-----	1,321	13.2	1,083	203,546
Lafayette-----	2,098	8.1	1,582	659,307
Lamar-----	1,912	10.9	1,856	558,364
Lauderdale-----	8,795	12.5	6,564	2,586,764

APPENDIX TABLE 56 (CONTINUED)

Lawrence-----	1,794	15.9	1,632	691,873
Leake -----	3,144	18.3	2,618	823,638
Lee -----	3,988	8.2	3,420	1,011,224
Leflore -----	9,320	23.2	8,229	2,276,381
Lincoln -----	3,510	13.1	3,242	1,127,743
Lowndes -----	6,531	12.3	4,584	885,726
Madison -----	7,333	22.7	6,159	1,183,766
Marion -----	2,946	12.7	2,672	960,147
Marshall -----	6,484	25.2	5,061	989,418
Monroe -----	3,628	10.6	3,419	923,924
Montgomery -----	3,275	24.8	3,000	875,252
Neshoba -----	2,644	12.2	2,128	738,477
Newton -----	2,394	12.5	2,149	801,989
Noxubee -----	2,129	23.4	2,506	483,474
Oktibbeha -----	4,305	14.0	3,349	702,665
Panola -----	4,834	18.1	4,108	702,238
Pearl River -----	3,263	12.1	3,095	1,379,006
Perry -----	1,433	15.6	1,311	449,292
Pike -----	5,348	16.2	4,737	1,509,584
Pontotoc -----	2,125	11.9	1,893	769,157
Prentiss -----	2,380	11.5	2,174	895,039
Quitman -----	2,257	15.3	1,943	348,675
Rankin -----	2,058	4.1	1,940	1,132,379
Scott -----	2,608	11.7	2,383	587,077
Sharkey -----	2,469	29.7	2,114	363,016
Simpson -----	2,422	11.9	2,204	1,050,836
Smith -----	1,585	11.2	1,480	540,073
Stone -----	869	10.3	787	408,206
Sunflower -----	8,493	23.3	7,380	1,757,021
Tallahatchie ---	4,773	26.5	4,243	853,571
Tate -----	3,280	16.8	2,854	446,687
Tippah -----	2,398	14.0	2,149	751,640
Tishomingo -----	1,531	10.0	1,537	475,644
Tunica -----	2,920	26.3	2,041	344,481
Union -----	2,226	10.9	2,057	718,577
Walthall -----	2,475	20.1	2,189	803,492
Warren -----	6,286	13.8	5,009	1,508,689
Washington -----	13,005	18.5	9,422	2,657,952
Wayne -----	3,027	18.2	2,905	820,955
Webster -----	1,351	13.2	1,379	517,711
Wilkinson -----	2,372	22.2	2,175	427,326
Winston -----	3,181	16.8	2,883	953,530
Yalobusha -----	2,007	16.1	1,713	473,623
Yazoo -----	6,473	24.5	5,930	1,520,387

¹Does not include premiums paid to Social Security Administration for Buy-In, Part B, Medicare or retroactive adjustment paid to hospitals.

Source: Fifth Annual Report, Mississippi Medicaid Commission, 1974, pages 33-36.

APPENDIX TABLE 57

LIKELIHOOD OF INADEQUATE PLUMBING, MISSISSIPPI, HOUSEHOLD, 1970

POOR	THAN	NONPOOR	TIMES AS LIKELY TO HAVE INADEQUATE PLUMBING
1. State			2.26
2. Urban			2.59
3. Rural Nonfarm			1.89
4. Rural Farm			1.65
5. Rural		Urban	3.18
6. White			3.00
7. Black			1.25
8. Black		White	10.39
9. White		Rural Nonfarm	2.38
10. Black		Rural Nonfarm	1.19
11. White		Rural Farm	2.10
12. Black		Rural Farm	1.10
13. Black Rural		White	13.20
14. Black Rural		White Rural	5.40

Illustrative Interpretations:

Line 1. State's poor circa two and one-fourth times as likely to have inadequate plumbing.

Line 2. Rural poor circa two and one-fifth times as likely to have inadequate plumbing as the rural nonpoor.

Line 9. White RNF poor over twice as likely than white RNF nonpoor.

Line 13. Black rural poor thirteen times as likely as white State nonpoor.

APPENDIX TABLE 58

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS AND/OR FARM HOUSEHOLDS POSSESSING
SPECIFIED EQUIPMENT AND APPLIANCES, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1969

YEAR	TV	PHONE	HOME FREEZER	AUTOS	TRUCKS	TRACTORS
1950	NA	6.5	4.5	26.8	20.0	12.9
1954	13.7	26.7	16.8	39.1	32.0	24.4
1959	NA	26.7	42.6	52.8	44.5	37.2
1964	79.1	40.2	66.4	65.1	55.5	47.5
1969	NA	90.6	71.5	60.4	69.3	69.4

It is impossible to determine whether there was a 100% overlap in farms/farm households possessing either an auto or a truck. However, over one-fourth of the farmers in Mississippi in 1969 had more than one auto, a proportion close to the urban rate (34.%) and exceeding the rural nonfarm rate. The urban population is greatly disadvantaged in terms of food freezer ownership (34%). Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Non-farming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970, The Mississippi farm population as such must be seen as economically viable rather than "problematic" in the sense of needing public assistance to maintain a reasonable level-of-living. Part of the fallacy in viewing the "farm problem" has been the failure to make a distinction between welfare problems and agricultural problems. By lumping the two together (which Higby has likened to averaging the income from children's lemonade stands with chain grocers and concluding that aid is needed by food distributors because of their low income) the agricultural sector has been made to appear need of public assistance. Supply-management programs have not dealt with the welfare aspect of the rural population. See Edward Higby Farms and Farmers in an Urban Age, 1962. What may be more correctly be conceptualized as the welfare sector, which will not be helped by continued infusion of public assistance to viable agriculture, is reflected in the lack of piped water and flush toilets in rural dwellings. Bryant, op. cit p. 12.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 59

NUMBER AND DECENNIAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE, FARMS AND
FARM SIZE, MISSISSIPPI, 1930 - 1969

YEAR	NUMBER		SIZE	
	NUMBER	PERCENT CHANGE	NO. ACRES	PERCENT CHANGE
1930	312,663	--	55.4	--
1935	311,683	--	63.1	+13.9
1940	291,092	-6.6	65.8	+ 4.3
1945	263,528	-9.5	74.4	+13.1
1950	251,383	-46.0	82.4	+10.8
1954	215,915	-14.1	95.9	+16.4
1959	138,142	-36.0	134.9	+40.7
1964	109,141	-21.0	162.6	+20.5
1969	72,577	-33.5	221.0	+35.6

Source: Stacey, et al., Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, (Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966), p. 2; Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population a Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970, (Mississippi State University: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), p. 9.

APPENDIX TABLE 60

CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM OPERATORS,
MISSISSIPPI, 1950 - 1969

YEAR	% 65 OR OVER	MEDIAN AGE	OFF FARM RESIDENCE (%)	100 OR MORE DAYS OFF FARM WORK (%)
1950	13.1	46.2	2.9	17.5
1954	15.2	48.2	4.3	20.3
1959	18.0	51.2	5.0	29.9
1964	20.1	52.8	7.5	34.0
1969	22.1	54.1	16.6	44.0

Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture.

APPENDIX TABLE 61

DISTRIBUTION OF PRICE-SUPPORT TRANSFERS TO FARMERS, PERCENT OF TOTAL
BENEFITS RECEIVED BY SPECIFIED PERCENTILES OF FARMERS, FOR
COTTON, SOUTHEAST AND DELTA, 1963

	LOWER 10%	LOWER 20%	LOWER 33%	LOWER 50%	TOP 50%	TOP 33%	TOP 20%	TOP 10%	TOP 1%
Southeast ¹	1.9	3.8	6.5	15	85	76	61	47	14
Delta ²	1.2	2.4	5.8	10	90	81	70	58	21

¹Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama

²Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana

Source: Original, J.T. Bonnen, "Distribution of Benefits from Selected Farm Programs," in President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States (Washington: USG-PO, 1968), pp. 461-505. This table, Arthur M. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South, (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1973), p. 53.

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POVERTY

APPENDIX TABLE 62

FARM OWNERS RECEIVING PAYMENTS FROM VARIOUS AGRICULTURAL
PROGRAMS IN EXCESS OF \$25,000, 1966

NUMBER	\$ AMOUNT
5	\$1,000,000 or More
11	\$5,000,000 - \$1,000,000
258	\$1,000,000 - \$500,000
963	\$50,000 - \$100,000
3,939	\$25,000 - \$50,000
4,919	

Source: Arthur M. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South (Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1973), p. 53. According to Ford, such data "strongly suggest that the rise of the large commercial farmer in the United States is in large part the result of his political power rather than his market efficiency." p. 53.

APPENDIX TABLE 63

TOTAL GOVERNMENT GRANTS TO FARMERS UNDER VARIOUS
PROGRAMS, MISSISSIPPI AND CONTIGUOUS STATES, 1973

STATE	\$ (THOUSANDS)
Alabama	51,519
Arkansas	68,228
Louisiana	43,347
Tennessee	41,345
Mississippi	101,263,000

Source: Mississippi Statistical Abstract, 1973, p. 488.

APPENDIX II

CAP APPLICATION PLANNING DATA

Good planning is essential to the success of Community Action Agencies. The development and implementation of effective Community Action plans are highly dependent on the identification of the real needs of poor people.

Specific population data are an essential ingredient in identifying groups who have similar kinds of needs and for formulating plans that can be addressed to target groups. Consequently, the Community Service Administration requires that applications for Community Action Programs provide the latest available data on the incidence of poverty.

Data in this section have been arranged on a county basis to follow CAP Form 5 requiring information on the social, demographic, and economic characteristics of the population. This information should provide a readily accessible data source for those responsible for the planning of CAP programs and for administrators who need the basic data required by the CSA. The range of data provided in this appendix is sufficiently comprehensive to complete an entire CAP Form 5 on a county basis without resort to other documents. This data will generally be applicable until reports from the 1980 decennial census become available.

APPENDIX TABLE 1

CAP FORM 5.3.1 POPULATION DATA
TOTAL POPULATION AND PERCENT RURAL
MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	TOTAL POPULATION	% RURAL	COUNTY	TOTAL POPULATION	% RURAL
Adams	37,293	47.2	Madison	29,737	64.7
Alcorn	27,179	37.4	Marion	22,871	66.8
Amite	13,763	100.0	Marshall	24,027	76.2
Attala	19,570	62.9	Monroe	34,043	60.7
Benton	7,505	100.0	Montgomery	12,918	57.3
Bolivar	49,409	57.4	Neshoba	20,802	43.4
Calhoun	14,623	100.0	Newton	18,983	67.3
Carroll	9,397	100.0	Noxubee	14,288	79.1
Chickasaw	16,805	66.0	Oktober	28,752	36.7
Choctaw	8,440	100.0	Panola	26,829	61.3
Claiborne	10,086	74.3	Pearl River	27,802	66.4
Clarke	15,049	82.0	Perry	9,056	100.0
Clay	18,840	53.7	Pike	31,756	62.3
Coahoma	40,447	46.4	Pontotoc	17,363	80.1
Copiah	27,749	64.6	Prentiss	20,133	70.7
Covington	14,002	100.0	Quitman	15,888	83.6
DeSoto	35,885	75.1	Rankin	43,933	71.9
Forrest	57,849	22.2	Scott	21,369	68.4
Franklin	8,011	100.0	Sharkey	8,937	100.0
George	12,459	100.0	Simpson	19,947	85.1
Greene	8,545	100.0	Smith	13,561	100.0
Grenada	19,854	49.9	Stone	8,101	63.0
Hancock	17,387	43.3	Sunflower	37,047	68.2
Harrison	111,684	17.0	Tallahatchie	19,338	85.4
Hinds	214,973	16.1	Tate	18,554	77.1
Holmes	23,120	76.2	Tippah	15,852	78.0
Humphreys	14,601	78.5	Tishomingo	14,940	100.0
Issaquena	2,737	100.0	Tunica	11,854	100.0
Itawamba	16,847	82.8	Union	19,096	66.3
Jackson	87,975	28.8	Walthall	12,500	100.0
Jasper	15,994	100.0	Warren	44,981	43.4
Jefferson	9,295	100.0	Washington	70,581	73.8
Jefferson Davis	12,936	100.0	Wayne	16,650	100.0
Jones	56,357	48.9	Webster	10,047	100.0
Kemper	10,233	100.0	Wilkinson	11,099	100.0
Lafayette	24,181	42.7	Winston	18,406	64.0
Lamar	15,209	98.1	Yalobusha	11,915	72.4
Lauderdale	67,087	32.8	Yazoo	27,304	60.5
Lawrence	11,137	100.0			
Leake	17,085	82.3			
Lee	46,148	55.6			
Leflore	42,111	46.8			
Lincoln	26,198	59.2			
Lowndes	49,700	39.9			

Source: U.S. Census of Population
1970; Mississippi Statist
Abstract, 1974.

APPENDIX TABLE 2

CAP FORM 5.3.2 FAMILY INCOME DATA, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	INCOMES UNDER \$2,000 NUMBER	PERCENT	FAMILIES WITH INCOME		
				UNDER 1,000	1,000- 1,999	2,000 2,999
Adams	9,106	2,056	22.5	693	781	582
Alcorn	7,500	1,612	21.5	370	723	519
Amite	3,273	1,276	39.3	440	498	338
Attala	4,989	1,690	33.9	488	637	565
Benton	1,776	611	34.4	290	210	111
Bolivar	10,280	3,919	38.1	1,216	1,491	1,212
Calhoun	3,835	770	31.8	450	461	309
Carroll	2,235	832	37.2	284	276	172
Chickasaw	4,171	1,128	27.0	367	495	266
Choctaw	2,182	697	31.9	230	298	169
Claiborne	2,104	746	35.5	255	275	216
Clarke	3,799	1,104	29.1	349	413	342
Clay	4,430	1,063	24.0	355	412	296
Coahoma	8,846	3,374	38.1	912	1,327	1,135
Copiah	5,786	1,840	31.8	451	785	604
Covington	3,447	870	25.2	271	399	200
DeSoto	8,431	1,564	18.6	499	579	486
Forrest	14,151	2,782	19.7	664	996	1,122
Franklin	2,000	678	33.9	179	271	228
George	3,149	683	21.7	128	221	334
Greene	2,163	680	31.4	144	336	200
Grenada	4,940	1,243	25.2	361	455	427
Hancock	4,324	835	19.3	156	299	380
Harrison	31,600	4,902	15.5	1,236	1,621	2,045
Hinds	51,873	8,218	15.8	2,959	3,056	2,203
Holmes	5,042	2,478	49.1	772	932	774
Humphreys	3,166	1,464	46.2	462	488	514
Issaquena	576	210	36.5	93	63	54
Itawamba	4,738	1,118	23.6	238	523	357
Jackson	21,852	2,025	9.3	517	717	791
Jasper	3,993	1,364	34.2	429	498	437
Jefferson	2,042	1,014	49.7	285	471	258
Jefferson Davis	3,020	1,097	36.5	442	367	288
Jones	14,309	2,961	20.7	676	1,201	1,084
Kemper	2,321	1,047	45.1	354	435	258
Lafayette	5,416	1,327	24.5	402	519	406
Lamar	3,934	855	21.7	176	338	341
Lauderdale	16,923	3,352	19.8	835	1,268	1,249
Lawrence	2,840	934	32.9	312	340	282
Leake	4,409	1,664	37.1	388	693	583
Lee	12,515	2,075	16.6	471	884	720
Leflore	9,554	2,877	30.1	640	1,137	1,100
Lincoln	6,694	1,537	24.5	468	706	463
Lowndes	11,802	2,293	19.4	645	897	751
Madison	6,471	1,990	30.8	587	749	654
Marion	5,650	1,742	30.8	457	655	626
Marshall	5,109	1,714	33.5	516	715	483
Monroe	8,765	1,986	22.7	432	854	700

Montgomery	3,237		34.7	351	514	258
Neshoba	5,516	1,511	27.4	523	610	378
Newton	4,970	1,376	27.7	459	555	362
Noxubee	3,092	1,227	39.7	342	535	350
Oktibbeha	6,150	1,595	25.9	535	695	365
Panola	6,245	2,135	34.2	697	817	620
Pearl River	6,981	1,514	21.7	527	604	383
Perry	2,240	571	25.5	177	241	153
Pike	7,776	1,951	25.1	722	809	420
Pontotoc	4,701	1,492	31.7	564	702	226
Prentiss	5,475	1,271	23.2	454	527	290
Quitman	3,416	1,513	44.3	430	596	487
Rankin	9,993	1,391	13.9	540	524	327
Scott	5,345	1,446	27.1	548	573	325
Sharkey	1,831	750	41.0	343	252	155
Simpson	5,000	1,272	25.4	449	521	302
Smith	3,605	1,131	31.4	347	429	355
Stone	1,960	390	19.9	185	102	103
Sunflower	7,706	3,035	39.4	977	1,221	837
Tallahatchie	4,259	1,967	46.2	664	837	466
Tate	4,192	1,192	28.4	410	519	263
Tappah	4,309	1,219	28.3	422	595	202
Tishomingo	4,208	1,082	25.7	361	446	275
Tunica	2,310	1,206	52.0	443	521	242
Union	5,307	1,350	25.4	509	555	286
Walthall	3,078	964	31.3	365	357	242
Warren	10,809	2,011	18.7	686	804	521
Washington	15,815	4,287	27.1	1,279	1,784	1,224
Wayne	4,025	1,233	30.6	422	559	252
Webster	2,623	833	31.8	253	345	235
Wilkinson	2,461	956	39.2	384	348	233
Winston	4,703	1,319	28.1	399	613	307
Yalobusha	3,087	1,035	33.5	343	438	254
Yazoo	6,408	2,367	36.9	642	1,011	714

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 3

CAP FORM 5.3.3. MALES AND FEMALES 16 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN
LABOR FORCE OF PERCENT UNEMPLOYED, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	MALES		FEMALES	
	IN LABOR FORCE	% UNEMPLOYED	IN LABOR FORCE	% UNEMPLOYED
Adams	7,922	4.2	4,909	7.8
Alcorn	6,446	6.5	4,106	7.9
Amite	2,775	5.5	1,499	10.2
Attala	4,070	4.6	2,505	7.8
Benton	1,457	7.4	955	5.0
Bolivar	8,890	8.3	6,509	10.8
Calhoun	3,273	4.9	1,866	6.3
Carroll	1,933	3.6	1,065	10.0
Chickasaw	3,619	4.4	2,452	7.7
Choctaw	1,671	5.9	1,028	8.4
Claiborne	1,761	6.0	1,245	9.8
Clarke	3,171	3.8	2,080	8.1
Clay	4,029	4.6	2,762	8.3
Coahoma	7,105	6.0	4,836	10.2
Copiah	4,792	3.9	3,147	8.6
Covington	2,853	3.5	1,738	4.2
DeSota	7,984	3.3	4,012	6.1
Forrest	12,594	3.0	8,993	3.7
Franklin	1,661	6.2	891	7.1
George	2,821	3.7	1,160	4.1
Greene	1,708	4.0	893	9.7
Grenada	4,305	4.4	3,217	6.5
Hancock	3,899	5.4	1,970	5.9
Harrison	39,173	3.1	15,836	5.9
Hinds	48,607	2.8	36,290	4.3
Holmes	3,808	5.6	2,621	9.4
Humphreys	2,617	5.0	1,529	4.0
Issaquena	561	2.9	228	10.5
Itawamba	4,021	4.7	2,721	4.8
Jackson	22,207	3.4	10,029	7.0
Jasper	3,104	3.8	1,728	4.9
Jefferson	1,508	10.5	600	14.0
Jefferson Davis	2,479	4.6	1,340	6.9
Jones	12,402	2.6	7,230	4.5
Kemper	1,956	5.0	960	15.2
Lafayette	4,822	3.0	3,409	3.1
Lamar	3,319	5.2	1,683	7.6
Lauderdale	16,171	3.1	9,985	6.1
Lawrence	2,107	7.4	1,226	6.9
Leake	3,575	3.7	2,053	4.6
Lee	11,281	2.2	7,922	2.7
Leflore	8,323	4.3	6,055	8.8
Lincoln	5,827	2.9	3,481	5.6
Lowndes	11,756	3.6	8,037	5.5
Madison	5,676	2.6	3,617	5.1
Marion	4,458	5.2	2,856	5.0
Marshall	4,465	4.5	2,449	10.5
Monroe	7,571	3.8	5,732	4.5

Montgomery	2,751	3.8	1,765	7.6
Neshoba	4,515	4.9	2,996	4.9
Newton	4,126	2.9	2,701	3.3
Noxubee	2,829	8.7	1,536	11.4
Oktibbeha	6,256	5.2	3,835	6.2
Panola	5,433	6.1	3,500	9.0
Pearl River	6,416	4.9	3,193	8.1
Perry	1,855	3.1	1,113	5.4
Pike	6,483	2.6	4,289	6.0
Pontotoc	3,714	4.3	2,599	4.7
Prentiss	4,561	5.0	3,597	5.3
Quitman	2,676	7.8	1,756	10.3
Rankin	9,411	2.6	6,172	4.1
Scott	4,512	2.0	2,725	4.2
Sharkey	1,693	7.9	1,076	19.0
Simpson	4,134	2.5	2,631	1.6
Smith	2,940	2.3	1,791	3.9
Stone	1,870	1.8	1,019	1.4
Sunflower	6,102	6.2	4,593	10.2
Tallahatchie	3,179	5.5	2,071	7.0
Tate	3,786	3.7	2,232	7.8
Tippah	3,501	2.1	2,448	5.0
Tishomingo	3,314	8.2	2,258	11.5
Tunica	1,818	11.9	1,187	7.8
Union	4,486	2.9	2,765	6.1
Walthall	2,515	3.7	1,533	4.2
Warren	9,875	3.2	6,625	6.0
Washington	14,043	6.3	9,770	9.4
Wayne	3,376	3.8	1,850	6.1
Webster	2,167	3.2	1,215	6.8
Wilkinson	2,154	10.4	1,262	15.9
Winston	3,645	5.0	2,205	6.6
Yalobusha	2,372	2.4	1,805	5.2
Yazoo	5,457	2.6	3,208	6.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 4

CAP FORM 5.3.4. WELFARE DATA

COUNTY	PERSONS UNDER AGE 21		PERSONS AGE 65 AND BEYOND	
	NUMBER ¹	PERCENT RECEIVING A.F.D.C. ²	NUMBER ¹	PERCENT RECEIVING OLD AGE ASSISTANCE ³
Adams	16,585	17.8	3,383	37.5
Alcorn	10,142	8.1	3,217	37.2
Amite	6,163	6.7	1,716	32.9
Attala	7,942	11.7	2,738	39.7
Benton	3,401	15.2	864	42.6
Bolivar	24,921	26.2	4,984	46.7
Calhoun	5,741	12.2	1,885	37.2
Carroll	4,160	17.0	1,122	51.7
Chickasaw	7,087	12.8	2,043	44.5
Choctaw	3,382	15.8	1,210	48.2
Claiborne	4,781	18.5	1,080	48.8
Clarke	6,123	15.9	1,992	42.6
Clay	8,475	15.2	1,939	38.8
Coahoma	19,830	21.9	4,462	46.9
Copiah	10,959	14.5	3,192	40.6
Covington	6,085	10.6	1,554	46.4
DeSoto	17,246	9.1	2,452	42.9
Forrest	24,255	4.7	5,408	23.7
Franklin	3,217	3.4	1,146	40.7
George	5,480	7.5	1,064	37.5
Greene	3,755	12.1	938	43.0
Grenada	8,491	15.4	2,212	37.3
Hancock	7,336	3.8	1,750	17.9
Harrison	60,378	4.9	9,160	16.8
Hinds	93,514	13.8	16,788	28.1
Holmes	11,135	35.2	3,063	50.5
Humphreys	7,309	28.1	1,529	48.4
Issaquena	1,336	24.0	301	51.5
Itawamba	6,377	3.0	1,995	41.1
Jackson	40,593	3.9	4,273	18.5
Jasper	6,900	13.3	1,899	43.0
Jefferson	4,522	27.1	1,204	58.3
Jefferson Davis	5,850	15.0	1,357	48.2
Jones	22,673	8.2	6,024	28.3
Kemper	4,554	9.1	1,409	36.1
Lafayette	10,795	9.0	2,129	34.2
Lamar	6,549	9.5	1,502	38.5
Lauderdale	26,216	14.2	7,560	28.5
Lawrence	4,774	11.5	1,230	48.9
Leake	6,853	13.9	2,280	49.1
Lee	18,381	6.5	4,473	32.7
Leflore	19,596	20.7	4,410	44.3
Lincoln	10,817	11.3	2,983	34.0
Lowndes	20,129	13.0	4,044	30.2
Madison	14,473	24.2	2,978	50.1
Marion	9,877	9.5	2,476	44.9
Marshall	12,111	25.2	2,251	52.7
Monroe	14,129	9.7	3,789	35.0

Montgomery	5,476	23.5	1,685	49.9
Neshoba	8,414	10.5	2,590	38.2
Newton	7,629	8.5	2,607	33.1
Noxubee	6,971	18.4	1,616	47.8
Oktibbeha	13,592	12.9	2,142	36.4
Panola	12,377	14.8	3,099	36.5
Pearl River	12,208	8.0	2,363	30.3
Perry	4,007	10.8	922	46.7
Pike	13,377	15.9	3,965	31.3
Pontotoc	6,621	7.3	2,384	43.1
Prentiss	7,757	7.2	2,388	43.0
Quitman	7,876	10.5	1,732	43.9
Rankin	17,665	3.0	3,726	23.1
Scott	9,117	8.0	2,325	41.4
Sharkey	4,580	27.2	871	45.8
Simpson	8,323	7.1	2,505	36.2
Smith	5,511	6.8	1,536	43.9
Stone	3,568	7.8	806	28.7
Sunflower	18,062	26.2	3,696	47.7
Tallahatchie	9,432	22.9	2,332	50.1
Tate	9,127	14.4	1,828	40.5
Tippah	6,211	11.5	2,015	44.2
Tishomingo	5,394	5.1	1,966	42.0
Tunica	6,129	23.1	1,394	53.0
Union	7,214	8.4	2,508	41.5
Walthall	5,318	18.0	1,415	42.3
Warren	19,259	13.3	4,770	30.9
Washington	33,896	15.3	6,327	41.0
Wayne	7,487	29.1	1,707	46.1
Webster	3,894	29.1	1,461	36.8
Wilkinson	5,150	19.0	1,272	49.7
Winston	7,288	13.7	2,199	43.7
Yalobusha	4,902	13.0	1,750	40.9
Yazoo	12,415	25.4	3,160	46.9

¹1970

²1971

³1972

Source: Mississippi Statistical Abstract; U.S. Census of Population, 1970; County and City Data Book, 1972.

TABLE 5
CAP FORM 5.3.5. EDUCATIONAL DATA

COUNTY	PERCENT ENROLLED AGE 14 AND 15	PERCENT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL AGE 16 & 17	PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER		
			NUMBER	UNDER 8 YEARS EDUCATION NUMBER	PERCENT
Adams	95.1	91.4	18,822	5,176	27.5
Alcorn	82.6	71.9	15,455	4,213	27.2
Amite	90.1	85.3	7,089	2,383	33.6
Attala	94.0	85.4	10,695	3,067	29
Benton	96.0	86.9	3,756	1,410	38
Bolivar	94.7	87.2	21,354	9,349	43.8
Calhoun	89.0	85.1	8,158	2,226	27.2
Carroll	99.9	82.8	4,806	1,668	34.7
Chickasaw	94.7	81.0	8,819	2,462	28
Choctaw	87.8	83.1	4,612	1,080	23.4
Claiborne	99.9	94.8	4,533	1,662	36.
Clarke	93.1	80.7	8,213	2,436	30
Clay	96.6	83.6	9,319	2,512	26.9
Coahoma	98.4	88.2	18,835	8,249	44
Copiah	93.2	84.1	12,690	3,619	28.5
Covington	93.7	87.9	7,283	2,061	28.2
DeSoto	93.9	84.6	16,708	4,520	27.0
Forrest	93.4	86.3	28,547	5,419	18.9
Franklin	98.0	91.6	4,468	1,271	28.4
George	87.1	77.5	3,481	1,539	44.2
Greene	89.3	83.4	4,482	1,566	35
Grenada	95.1	79.3	10,305	2,933	28.4
Hancock	98.3	72.4	9,105	2,182	24
Harrison	96.7	81.8	62,734	10,921	17.4
Hinds	94.5	88.4	1,071,114	17,340	16.1
Holmes	84.5	77.0	11,046	4,640	42.0
Humphreys	89.8	84.2	6,674	3,069	46
Issaquena	98.3	95.1	1,268	586	46.2
Itawamba	86.7	73.9	9,496	2,694	28.3
Jackson	95.0	83.3	41,505	6,060	14.6
Jasper	99.9	80.2	8,259	2,055	24.8
Jefferson	99.9	96.8	4,349	1,930	44.3
Jefferson Davis	99.6	83.3	6,412	1,525	24
Jones	91.2	86.0	30,653	7,534	24.5
Kemper	90.4	90.8	5,236	2,037	38.9
Lafayette	90.4	95.4	10,367	2,211	21.3
Lamar	91.8	76.7	7,851	1,872	23.8
Lauderdale	91.9	80.1	36,286	7,886	21.7
Lawrence	99.9	78.6	5,864	1,361	23.2
Leake	96.2	80.1	9,459	2,450	25.9
Lee	89.6	84.8	24,960	3,127	12.5
Leflore	92.1	74.9	20,231	7,519	37.1
Lincoln	92.2	90.6	14,028	3,346	23.8
Lowndes	92.5	88.0	23,407	5,867	25.0
Madison	93.6	86.5	13,632	4,730	34.6
Marion	91.9	81.7	11,801	3,142	26.6
Marshall	85.5	87.7	10,648	3,175	29.8

Monroe	94.2	70.9	18,049	5,061	28.0
Montgomery	91.2	86.6	6,905	1,945	28.1
Neshoba	94.6	85.8	5,844	2,799	47.8
Newton	85.3	88.7	10,342	2,348	22.7
Noxubee	38.1	31.2	6,729	2,711	40.2
Oktibbeha	95.8	85.2	11,728	2,752	23.4
Panola	98.9	80.8	13,240	4,664	35.2
Pearl River	86.7	76.5	75,019	2,805	03.7
Perry	99.1	88.9	4,604	1,283	27.8
Pike	92.8	88.7	16,949	4,570	26.9
Pontotoc	93.2	84.8	9,896	2,577	26.0
Prentiss	88.7	78.5	11,212	2,996	26.7
Quitman	95.0	76.7	7,219	3,591	49.7
Rankin	87.4	75.1	23,758	5,893	24.8
Scott	91.6	80.4	11,148	3,315	29.7
Sharkey	94.4	89.6	4,014	1,725	42.9
Simpson	77.6	69.4	10,663	3,066	28.7
Smith	93.1	78.1	7,346	1,840	25.0
Stone	89.3	82.7	4,069	763	18.7
Sunflower	89.6	82.1	17,036	7,372	43.2
Tallahatchie	92.6	81.0	9,042	4,255	47.0
Tate	91.5	81.2	8,421	2,885	34.2
Tippah	85.3	73.4	8,854	2,915	32.9
Tishomingo	90.0	92.6	8,803	3,224	36.6
Tunica	80.8	81.4	5,227	2,929	56.0
Union	94.7	75.9	10,792	3,416	31.6
Walthall	92.7	79.5	6,619	2,015	30.4
Warren	94.5	82.1	23,444	5,842	24.9
Washington	90.1	82.2	33,191	11,986	36.1
Wayne	92.9	87.2	8,275	2,276	27.5
Webster	86.8	98.4	5,639	2,486	44.0
Wilkinson	93.8	77.1	5,451	2,813	51.6
Winston	94.7	91.1	9,960	1,942	19.4
Yalobusha	99.9	88.8	6,431	1,897	29.4
Yazoo	93.4	89.2	13,794	5,052	36.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 6

CAP FORM 5.3.7 HEALTH DATA, BIRTHS PER YEAR, AND INFANT MORTALITY RATE, MISSISSIPPI, 1974

COUNTY	BIRTH PER YEAR	DEATHS OF INFANTS UNDER 12 MONTHS	INFANT MORTALITY RATE	NEONATAL MORTALITY RATE
Adams	704	13	18.5	17.0
Alcorn	479	6	12.5	10.4
Amite	208	8	38.5	19.2
Attala	305	6	19.7	19.7
Benton	128	2	15.6	15.6
Bolivar	1,209	32	26.5	18.2
Calhoun	243	4	16.5	12.3
Carroll	146	3	20.5	13.7
Chickasaw	355	8	22.5	19.7
Chocktaw	115	0	--	--
Claiborne	214	7	29.6	32.7
Clarke	222	7	31.5	18.0
Clay	388	11	28.4	23.2
Coahoma	864	15	17.4	12.7
Copiah	440	13	29.5	13.6
Covington	274	3	10.9	3.6
DeSoto	831	14	16.8	9.6
Forrest	1,067	18	16.9	10.3
Franklin	151	2	--	13.2
George	292	7	24.0	10.3
Greene	162	5	30.9	12.3
Grenada	376	12	31.9	21.3
Hancock	261	11	42.1	34.5
Harrison	2,853	53	18.6	12.6
Hinds	4,099	84	20.5	13.9
Holmes	495	14	28.3	18.2
Humphreys	327	6	18.3	12.2
Issaquena	43	4	93.0	46.5
Iwawamba	299	2	6.7	3.3
Jackson	2,035	36	17.7	11.3
Jasper	346	8	23.1	20.2
Jefferson	163	4	24.5	18.4
Jefferson Davis	261	6	23.0	7.7
Jones	909	27	29.7	25.3
Kemper	182	4	--	16.5
Lafayette	425	12	19.3	21.2
Lamar	365	5	13.7	11.0
Lauderdale	1,312	44	33.5	25.2
Lawrence	245	4	16.3	8.2
Leake	289	8	27.7	17.3
Lee	986	30	30.4	24.3
Leflore	871	32	36.7	28.7
Lincoln	508	16	31.5	25.6
Lowndes	1,137	17	15.0	9.7
Madison	770	13	16.9	11.7
Marion	448	11	24.6	15.6

Marshall	546	9	16.5	11.0
Monroe	641	16	25.0	18.7
Montgomery	195	8	41.0	35.9
Neshoba	409	6	14.7	9.8
Newton	340	13	38.2	23.5
Noxubee	265	16	60.4	41.5
Oktibbeha	511	11	21.5	13.7
Panola	533	17	31.9	24.4
Pearl River	497	8	16.1	12.1
Perry	202	0	--	--
Pike	642	15	23.4	15.6
Pontotoc	332	7	21.1	18.1
Prentiss	355	8	22.5	16.9
Quitman	348	10	28.7	11.5
Rankin	945	12	12.7	10.6
Scott	427	7	16.4	7.0
Sharkey	188	5	26.6	16.0
Simpson	420	7	16.7	14.3
Smith	254	7	27.6	19.7
Stone	146	1	6.8	--
Sunflower	709	23	32.4	18.3
Tallahatchie	434	6	13.8	6.9
Tate	385	9	23.4	13.0
Tippah	308	6	19.5	16.2
Tishomingo	202	4	19.8	9.9
Tunica	245	7	28.6	24.5
Union	321	11	34.3	24.9
Walthall	199	8	40.2	25.1
Warren	936	34	36.3	24.6
Washington	1,584	40	25.2	15.2
Wayne	312	9	28.8	22.4
Webster	158	5	31.6	19.0
Wilkinson	138	2	14.5	14.5
Winston	375	8	21.3	10.7
Yalobusha	226	7	31.0	26.5
Yazoo	502	15	29.9	19.9

Source: Unpublished data supplied by the Statistical Service Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

NOTE: The Infant Mortality Rate is the number of deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births per year. Infant deaths as a percent of births per year may be obtained by moving the decimal two spaces to the left. The Neonatal Mortality Rate is the number of deaths of infants under 28 days of age per 1,000 live births per year.

TABLE 7

CAP FORM 5.3.9. MINORITY GROUP DATA:¹ NUMBER OF BLACK, OTHER
NONWHITE, AND SPANISH SPEAKING POPULATION PER COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER NONWHITE	SPANISH SPEAKING
Adams	19,249	17,780	14	127
Alcorn	9,284	2,182	51	96
Amite	6,821	6,928	0	0
Attala	4,529	2,638	93	*
Benton	4,350	3,149	0	0
Bolivar	18,020	30,070	67	447
Calhoun	10,787	3,806	0	28
Carroll	4,611	4,753	5	0
Chickasaw	10,808	5,964	4	*
Choctaw	6,070	2,359	0	*
Claiborne	2,564	6,736	0	*
Clarke	9,615	5,389	19	*
Clay	9,479	8,943	6	*
Coahoma	14,107	25,612	227	36
Copiah	1,853	12,399	10	70
Covington	9,432	4,552	0	0
DeSoto	23,233	12,576	15	87
Forrest	40,365	13,985	118	316
Franklin	4,892	3,104	5	0
George	10,984	1,448	14	137
Greene	6,652	1,868	15	0
Grenada	10,980	8,633	0	*
Hancock	14,814	2,447	22	236
Harrison	101,728	21,720	375	2197
Hinds	127,545	82,320	138	669
Holmes	6,917	15,673	40	0
Humphreys	5,127	9,421	14	*
Issaquena	1,039	1,698	0	*
Itawamba	15,799	893	5	*
Jackson	73,207	14,121	106	608
Jasper	8,571	7,410	7	49
Jefferson	2,299	6,981	0	0
Jefferson Davis	6,435	6,334	0	27
Jones	41,075	13,339	114	*
Kemper	4,282	5,602	179	0
Lafayette	14,250	6,603	53	97
Lamar	13,151	2,001	0	45
Lauderdale	44,228	20,266	111	496
Lawrence	7,546	3,562	4	0
Leake	10,372	6,085	618	*
Lee	36,336	9,523	14	63
Leflore	17,364	23,970	135	64
Lincoln	17,930	7,981	29	*
Lowndes	30,914	16,405	65	159
Madison	11,107	18,233	0	*
Marion	15,465	6,991	37	62
Marshall	9,091	14,471	4	47
Monroe	23,630	10,353	6	*

Montgomery	7,043	5,774	5	61
Neshoba	15,295	4,098	1,288	*
Newton	12,845	5,178	443	35
Noxubee	4,827	9,380	19	59
Oktibbeha	15,689	9,958	152	84
Panola	13,034	13,749	15	*
Pearl River	22,322	5,109	9	90
Perry	6,674	2,378	5	12
Pike	17,636	13,776	7	137
Pontotoc	14,144	3,097	41	0
Prentiss	17,671	2,305	0	*
Quitman	6,730	8,938	38	*
Rankin	29,314	10,139	81	146
Scott	14,262	7,049	12	*
Sharkey	3,137	5,779	11	0
Simpson	13,504	6,103	31	*
Smith	10,620	2,881	53	*
Stone	5,799	1,831	5	*
Sunflower	5,246	11,723	93	*
Tallahatchie	1,248	1,339	34	0
Tate	9,183	8,660	4	0
Tippah	13,116	2,567	20	0
Tishomingo	14,260	669	0	0
Tunica	3,240	8,554	0	*
Union	16,051	2,944	6	44
Walthall	7,343	5,088	6	0
Warren	126,218	18,201	114	209
Washington	31,733	38,196	247	145
Wayne	11,051	5,470	17	*
Webster	7,692	2,251	0	0
Wilkinson	3,583	7,494	17	*
Winston	10,946	7,158	252	0
Yalobusha	7,077	4,743	0	*
Yazoo	12,678	14,512	0	*

Source: 1970 Census 4th Court Summary Tape

* Number not disclosed

¹Persons in households

TABLE 8

CAP FORM 5.3.10 HOUSING DATA

COUNTY	NUMBER	TOTAL (ALL INCOME) FAMILY HOUSING UNITS		POOR FAMILIES PERCENT UNITS WITH INADEQUATE PLUMBING
		INADEQUATE PLUMBING NUMBER	PERCENT	
Adams	11,949	2,765	23.1	43.9
Alcorn	9,376	2,087	22.3	36.8
Amite	4,339	1,657	38.2	60.1
Attala	6,590	2,385	36.2	54.0
Benton	2,631	998	37.9	56.5
Bolivar	13,829	5,385	39.0	58.9
Calhoun	4,885	1,396	28.6	40.9
Carroll	2,993	1,524	50.9	60.0
Chickasaw	5,358	1,653	30.7	46.1
Choctaw	2,849	1,084	38.0	47.1
Claiborne	3,047	1,460	47.9	69.4
Clarke	5,077	1,705	33.6	48.5
Clay	5,663	1,784	31.5	51.5
Coahoma	12,736	5,214	40.9	55.5
Copiah	7,646	2,665	34.9	49.8
Covington	4,254	1,305	30.7	55.8
DeSoto	10,205	2,891	28.3	57.6
Forrest	18,961	2,306	12.2	24.1
Franklin	2,781	1,064	38.3	58.5
George	3,924	930	23.7	45.3
Greene	2,718	875	32.2	50.7
Grenada	6,509	1,743	26.8	47.9
Hancock	7,330	714	9.7	13.7
Harrison	41,541	2,361	5.7	13.3
Hinds	67,261	4,499	6.7	12.7
Holmes	7,097	3,475	50.0	58.2
Humphreys	4,233	1,876	44.3	56.8
Issaquena	866	401	46.3	78.4
Itawamba	5,616	1,480	26.3	3.67
Jackson	27,584	1,738	6.3	56.4
Jasper	4,973	1,831	36.9	63.2
Jefferson	2,648	1,474	55.7	62.8
Jefferson Davis	3,883	1,484	38.2	57.8
Jones	18,171	2,680	14.7	26.3
Kemper	3,147	1,579	50.2	62.5
Lafayette	7,226	1,823	25.2	36.3
Lamar	4,929	831	16.9	22.4
Lauderdale	22,728	3,510	15.4	28.5
Lawrence	3,586	1,011	28.2	46.2
Leake	5,745	2,033	45.8	37.0
Lee	15,405	2,654	17.2	33.2
Leflore	13,022	3,801	29.2	45.4
Lincoln	8,650	1,814	21.0	38.7
Lowndes	15,395	3,320	21.6	48.5
Madison	8,194	3,242	39.6	61.7
Marion	7,356	1,731	23.5	35.8
Marshall	6,542	3,083	47.1	62.7
Monroe	11,151	2,758	24.8	40.2

Montgomery	4,235	1,385	32.7	48.5
Neshoba	7,048	2,156	30.6	44.7
Newton	6,534	1,756	26.9	34.8
Noxubee	4,393	2,339	53.2	77.0
Oktibbeha	8,070	2,172	26.8	47.3
Panola	7,944	3,212	40.4	59.0
Pearl River	8,850	1,056	11.9	17.4
Perry	2,852	898	31.5	49.1
Pike	10,599	1,904	18.0	26.4
Pontotoc	5,908	1,546	26.2	40.0
Prentiss	6,578	1,654	25.1	35.6
Quitman	4,890	2,326	47.6	55.7
Rankin	12,097	2,275	18.8	42.3
Scott	6,644	1,934	29.1	40.5
Sharkey	2,474	1,022	41.3	63.4
Simpson	6,419	1,734	27.0	42.4
Smith	4,444	1,305	29.4	46.9
Stone	2,499	468	18.7	37.1
Sunflower	10,183	3,926	38.5	49.7
Tallahatchie	6,159	3,290	53.4	60.9
Tate	5,204	1,926	37.0	50.8
Tippah	5,611	1,792	31.9	39.7
Tishomingo	5,725	1,427	24.9	32.6
Tunica	3,876	2,430	62.3	66.7
Union	6,714	1,745	26.0	43.2
Walthall	4,011	1,096	27.3	38.4
Warren	15,004	3,143	20.9	41.4
Washington	21,018	4,256	20.2	28.9
Wayne	5,088	1,676	32.9	53.5
Webster	3,391	3,107	91.6	47.7
Wilkinson	3,322	1,758	52.9	71.4
Winston	5,863	1,904	32.5	47.8
Yalobusha	4,145	1,435	34.6	44.6
Yazoo	8,649	3,314	38.3	54.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970; Mississippi Statistical Abstract.

TABLE 9

CAP FORM 5.3.10 PERCENT OF POOR, SEVERELY POOR AND NEAR
POOR FAMILIES, 1970

COUNTY	POOR FAMILIES	SEVERELY POOR FAMILIES	NEAR POOR FAMILIES
Adams	28.6	21.4	33.7
Alcorn	22.3	14.9	28.4
Amite	42.1	32.5	51.1
Attala	37.2	28.5	44.1
Benton	38.2	26.7	45.9
Bolivar	44.3	35.7	51.6
Calhoun	32.5	23.7	42.5
Carroll	42.6	31.5	51.5
Chicksaw	32.0	22.3	39.0
Choctaw	35.1	26.5	42.0
Claiborne	42.0	31.1	50.2
Clarke	32.7	23.4	39.4
Clay	25.9	20.1	33.6
Coahoma	42.8	34.6	50.4
Copiah	35.4	26.6	43.5
Covington	31.6	23.8	39.6
DeSoto	23.3	17.6	29.3
Forrest	21.9	15.4	29.7
Franklin	37.8	26.1	46.3
George	21.6	14.0	30.5
Greene	38.8	26.3	49.4
Grenada	27.9	21.0	34.6
Hancock	20.6	12.9	29.3
Harrison	17.3	11.2	24.3
Hinds	19.1	13.8	24.7
Holmes	53.0	42.9	60.4
Humphreys	53.8	43.4	61.0
Issaquena	42.0	33.9	53.1
Itawamba	25.3	16.3	33.4
Jackson	11.3	7.3	17.2
Jasper	40.5	31.6	48.3
Jefferson	58.2	47.7	58.6
Jefferson Davis	39.2	32.0	48.7
Jones	22.5	15.1	29.9
Kemper	48.4	39.6	56.4
Lafayette	28.4	20.4	36.7
Lamar	27.6	16.8	37.1
Lauderdale	22.7	15.9	29.9
Lawrence	36.6	27.3	42.0
Leake	38.3	27.8	47.5
Lee	18.7	12.8	25.8
Leflore	36.8	26.4	43.4
Lincoln	29.0	20.5	36.7
Lowndes	23.1	16.5	30.4
Madison	39.5	26.4	45.3
Marion	36.7	26.4	45.3

Marshall	43.9	34.0	51.3
Monroe	24.0	17.6	33.3
Montgomery	37.6	27.9	44.3
Neshoba	29.9	20.6	37.0
Newton	29.2	21.0	38.4
Noxubee	47.3	38.3	55.1
Oktibbeha	28.7	21.9	35.9
Panola	38.3	28.9	45.1
Pearl River	25.9	18.3	32.8
Perry	30.8	21.4	42.6
Pike	30.8	21.7	39.1
Pontotoc	32.4	22.1	39.6
Prentiss	24.7	15.9	33.5
Quitman	49.8	40.0	56.4
Rankin	15.6	10.7	22.6
Scott	32.2	22.1	41.4
Sharkey	47.2	36.7	55.2
Simpson	30.0	21.4	38.7
Smith	32.5	24.7	38.7
Stone	23.4	15.0	30.4
Sunflower	46.2	36.7	53.3
Tallahatchie	49.9	39.1	55.7
Tate	33.0	24.8	41.4
Tippah	31.9	21.5	41.9
Tishomingo	24.4	16.6	35.0
Tunica	55.6	41.1	65.2
Union	27.6	18.3	34.4
Walthall	35.5	25.0	44.3
Warren	22.2	15.1	28.9
Washington	34.1	25.4	41.3
Wayne	36.5	26.2	43.6
Webster	33.9	26.0	42.8
Wilkinson	47.9	32.0	58.1
Winston	32.8	23.6	38.8
Yalobusha	37.2	25.7	44.5
Yazoo	42.4	33.9	48.6

SOURCE: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

1. Families in Mississippi in 1970 according to 1969 reported money income according SAA poverty thresholds.
2. Reported family income less than 75% of poverty level.
3. Reported family income less than 125% of poverty level
This column includes all those included in the first columns plus those with incomes less than 125% of the cut off threshold. Column three includes the poor and the "near poor" by this measure.